

102093

JPRS-EPS-85-028

1 March 1985

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

**DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A**  
Approved for Public Release  
Distribution Unlimited

DTIC QUALITY INSPECTED 2

19990820 112

**FBIS**

FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

REPRODUCED BY  
NATIONAL TECHNICAL  
INFORMATION SERVICE  
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE  
SPRINGFIELD, VA. 22161

6  
113  
A06

#### NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

#### PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

## NOTICE

A new serial entitled WORLDWIDE REPORT: ARMS CONTROL will be published starting in March 1985.

The new report will contain Soviet, European, and other foreign media reportage and commentary on arms control issues, negotiations, agreements, and treaties. Much of the material will be reprinted from the regional FBIS DAILY REPORTS.

U.S. Government consumers may arrange to receive the new report through regular publications distribution channels or by contacting:

FBIS/Liaison and Requirements  
P.O. Box 2604  
Washington, D.C. 20013

Other consumers may order the report by contacting:

National Technical Information Service  
5285 Port Royal Road  
Springfield, VA 22161

1 March 1985

# EAST EUROPE REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

### CONTENTS

#### BULGARIA

Special Report on Revolutionary Ideological Thinking Reviewed (Marko Semov; RABOTNICHESKO DELO, 11 Jan 85).....	1
Politburo Adopts Decision on Methodius' 1,100th Birthday (BTA, 17 Feb 85).....	5
Dailies Mark Reunification Movement Centennial (Yono Mitev; RABOTNICHESKO DELO, 10 Feb 85).....	7
Briefs	
Electricity Cutoffs in Sofia	9
Health Delegation to PDRY	9

#### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Revanchist Claims Rejected (Stanislav Oborsky; RUDE PRAVO, 19 Jan 85).....	10
Responsibility in Science, Research Discussed (RUDE PRAVO, 29 Dec 84).....	13

#### GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Major Phases of Foreign Policy Analyzed (W. Venohr; DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV, No 12, Dec 84).....	18
--	----

#### HUNGARY

Establishment of Hungarian People's Army Described (Istvan Olah Interview; NEPSZABADSAG, 19 Jan 85).....	30
---	----

Justification, Explanation of Price Increases (Editorial; NEPSZABADSAG, 19 Jan 85).....	37
--	----

## POLAND

Published Interview With Popieluszko Stirs Controversy (TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, No 46, 11 Nov 84; RZECZPOSPOLITA, 15-16 Dec 84).....	40
Catholic Weekly Presents Interview Source of Interview Sought	
Controversy Erupts Over Marxism, Religion (LAD, No 45, 11 Nov 84; ARGUMENTY, No 50, 9 Dec 84).....	44
Marxist-Christian Incompatibility, by Andrzej Kowzan Polemical Rebuttal, by Adam Karpinski	
Responsibilities of Church Administration, Hierarchy Given (Grzegorz Kalwarczyk; PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI, No 1, 6 Jan 85)..<	55
PZPR 18th Plenum Critiqued in Economic Weekly (ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE, No 1, 6 Jan 85).....	67
Training of Young Naval Personnel Discussed (Jerzy Zalewski; ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, 15-16 Dec 84).....	70
Decentralized Structure, Elitism of 'NOT' Groups Rapped (Stefan Zagiel; TYGODNIK ROBOTNICZY, No 3, 20 Jan 85).....	74
PZPR Politburo Member Views Chernenko Book (Tadeusz Porebski Interview; TRYBUNA LUDU, 31 Jan 85).....	79

## YUGOSLAVIA

Zagreb Daily on Pope as 'Globetrotter' (VJESNIK, 30 Jan 85).....	81
Activities of Polisario Front Delegation Reported (TANJUG Domestic Service, 5 Feb 85; TANJUG, 6 Feb 85).....	82
Meeting With Grlickov Stojanovic Meeting	
TANJUG Reviews USSR Translator's Book on Yalta Conference (Slavko Stanic; TANJUG, 5 Feb 85).....	84

Nationalist 'Excesses' in Split Discussed (TANJUG Domestic Service, 6, 7 Feb 85).....	86
Croat League of Communists Split Council	
Academician on Importance of Science, Education (TANJUG Domestic Service, 6 Feb 85).....	88
Serbian LC Presidium Discusses Publishing Activity (Belgrade Domestic Service, 7 Feb 85).....	93
Sukrija Speaks at Neum Marxist Discussions (TANJUG Domestic Service, 7 Feb 85).....	95
Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Discusses Ninth Congress (TANJUG Domestic Service, 7 Feb 85).....	99
Sukrija Addresses Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Presidium (TANJUG Domestic Service, 8 Feb 85).....	101
Sukrija Stresses Need for Scientific Development (TANJUG Domestic Service, 11 Feb 85).....	103
Dolanc Receives Public Prosecutor's Department Delegation (TANJUG Domestic Service, 12 Feb 85).....	104
Briefs	
Croat LC on Preventing Nationalism	105
Dizdarevic in Vojvodina	105
Foreign Affairs Appointments	105
Vidic Receives DPRK Envoy	106
New Envoy to Burkina Faso	106
TV Director Steps Down	106

BULGARIA

SPECIAL REPORT ON REVOLUTIONARY IDEOLOGICAL THINKING REVIEWED

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 11 Jan 85 p 3

[Review by Docent Marko Semov, doctor of philosophical sciences, of collection of articles "Revolutsionnoto Mislene i Ideologicheskata Rabota" [Revolutionary Thinking and Ideological Work], Sofia, Center for Theory and Management of Ideological Process of AONSU [Academy of Social Sciences and Social Management] of BCP Central Committee, and Institute for Marxism-Leninism Propaganda of Sofia City Committee of BCP, 1984, [digit illegible] 68 pages: "Innovative Approach"]

[Text] In the middle of October 1984 a round-table symposium, devoted to the very important topic of "Revolutionary Thinking and Ideological Work," was held in Boyana. A collection of articles, already published, containing the speeches made at the symposium by some 30 of our outstanding scientists, public figures and leaders of various ideological elements of our country, is now in the hands of the reader.

Such a symposium, occasioned by Comrade Todor Zhivkov's thought voiced to the Union of Scientists and active members of the Scientific and Technical Unions regarding the necessity "of a revolutionary reversal in the thinking about, and approach to the problems in our development," was indeed imperative. Our public opinion, our entire people with good reason and with interest awaited a further unfolding of this thought, revolutionary enough in itself, and a concrete application thereof to the practical world, which would clarify not only its historical value, but also result in a comprehensive interpretation of the historical need for such an approach. To a significant degree, the collection of articles presented for the consideration of our public satisfies this need and this natural interest.

Deep-Rooted Traditions of Our Party

In his introductory remarks to the symposium, the secretary of the BCP Central Committee, Stoyan Mikhaylov, delineated the scale and depth of the idea regarding a need for revolutionary thought and innovation. He linked this need with the deep-rooted traditions of the party, on the one hand, and with the April policy and with the name and lifework of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, on the other. This is not only fair in approaching such a topic, it is also scientifically valid. For what else is this April policy if not a synthesis of

what is most precious that our party has possessed and manifested in its long history and struggle by delving intelligently, deeply and humanely into the latest contemporary problems most closely linked with man's fate--and by the lively, innovative and creative interpretation and solution thereof under the concrete conditions of our Bulgarian socialist realities? Yet such an approach and such an ability of a personality and a party never remain and cannot remain its possession alone, its experience alone. They go beyond national lineaments, whether we desire this or not, and become a universal human possession, a universal human experience. This fact is the secret not only of our internal national recognition, but also of the recognition that is given to our party and our April policy by the other forces of the international communist and workers' movement and that makes the new reputation and the new prestige of modern Bulgaria in the world.

#### Needs of the Scientific and Technical Revolution

Corresponding Member Stoyan Mikhaylov opens up a great new idea in the needs of the scientific and technical revolution. He advances arguments, goes in depth into the essence of this revolution and places its new and difficult problems in the midst of the general movement of our society in building developed socialism. Obtained as a result is a very complete and value-laden interpretation of the new aspects in the development of our country and of a whole series of problems which are naturally arising now.

#### Theoretical Riches of Marxism-Leninism

In one way or another the papers and speeches of the outstanding Bulgarian scientists and public figures round out, spell out and give plasticity and diversity to the idea of revolutionary thinking. The basic problems of this idea are lumped into a few groups. The first of these--Marxist-Leninist theory and modern revolutionary thinking--seeks the supports of the idea and the principles themselves in the core of the theoretical riches of Marxism-Leninism, in the materialistic dialectic as the basis of the revolutionary approach to thinking and action (Academician N. Iribadzhakov, Corresponding Member M. Isusov). However, the collection of articles correctly observes that the idea of revolutionary thinking "derives from the stage of our social development, from the character of the conflicts under socialism" (Corresponding Member Stefan Angelov), for which reason the idea both as principle and as result reduces to the relationship between the abilities of modern science and the abilities of social practice to introduce scientific achievements. Academician Evgeni Mateev expatiates upon the problem of the comparatively narrower territory of economic science and the problems which it has to solve from the viewpoint of the contemporary stage of development and the need for innovation.

#### Potentialities and Attitude of the Individual

Revolutionary thinking, to be sure, is a concept closely bound up with the potentialities and attitude of the individual, the subjective factor. In its very essence, as Prof Dr Ivan Iliev correctly observes, it is scientific thinking. Therefore, a whole range of extremely important questions regarding



the translation of ideas into deeds and action involves the characterization of education, of scientific training, of the relationship between the Old and the New and the new factors which determine it and influence it.

#### Problem of Interests

Another circle of questions bound up with revolutionary thinking traces back to the problem of the interests due to such thinking (Senior Science Associate O. Panov). These are two inseparable points, which now await further concrete solution under conditions of scientific and technical progress. In other words, the idea of creating an objective need and people's interest in changing things--within themselves or around themselves, as well as the other problems set forth thus far raise an exceptionally important question: How does the idea become a concrete human action? . . . The collection of articles does not give a complete answer to this question. The problem of the mechanisms through which an innovative revolutionary idea becomes an innovative revolutionary action not only is not new and not only is not adequately solved, but is an exceptionally important, crucial question. And the fact that this question is not raised in the collection, as is stated another time, at least gives us reason to hope that its solution will come from the known area and desires (K. Andreev).

#### Under Conditions of Mature Socialism

It seems to me that the question of the subjective factor is mechanically relegated to a separate topic having to do with the creative activity of the individual. For this activity is not and cannot be anything other than a part and extension of the characteristics and significance of the subjective factor under conditions of mature socialism. Here interesting thoughts are voiced by Prof Dr M. Semov, Corresponding Member Kr. Goranov, Prof Dr G. Yolov, P. Novakov, M. Manev. . .

The last section of the collection, "Innovation, Ideological Work and Social Practice," opens with the paper of Prof Dr V. Momov. Here the reader's attention is concentrated on various fundamental problems in ideological work as a precondition for the formation of personalities in which innovation will not be a strain, will not be an impulse or a campaign, but an internal characteristic and essential feature. In this section the authors have found interesting perspectives of exposition, as a result of which we touch upon such important problems in ideological work as its realism and the consequences of the lack thereof (Dr P. Mitev), the powerful effects of bureaucratic red-tape as an antithesis of revolutionary thinking (Prof Dr V. Vichev) and creativity in ideological work (Docent R. Kararusinov). M. Kemalova and G. Mikhova, as well as A. Bundzhulov find specific aftereffects of this approach. Docent A. Ananiev's thesis regarding the further democratization of intraparty relations as an important factor in revolutionary activity strikes the necessary final chord here.

#### High Level of Social Thought in our Country

The authors represented in the collection "Revolutionary Thinking and Ideological Work" portray a high level of social thought in our country and to

a great extent reveal the most significant--solved and unsolved--problems in the country's social development. The inevitable comparison with the problems which the other advanced countries are solving, on the whole, inspires justified spiritual and material optimism. Comrade Todor Zhivkov's idea has gained further intellectual tangibility in this collection. Most likely the full conception of this idea will become generally known nationwide when it becomes the destiny and purpose of our intellectuals and the destiny and purpose of the working class's vast practical experience and realism.

A profound initial direction has been found. Something else our developed socialist society can and must do is to extend and augment it and introduce into it new colorations and purport, humanism and strength, theoretical significance and realistic authority.

The idea of revolutionary thought and action is a kind of test of our entire society's social maturity. The times that await us will most likely give all the necessary arguments in favor of this test.

6474

CSO: 2200/106

BULGARIA

POLITBURO ADOPTS DECISION ON METHODIUS' 1,100TH BIRTHDAY

AU171927 Sofia BTA in English 1853 GMT 17 Feb 85

[Text] Sofia, 17 Feb (BTA)--The Politburo of the CC of the BCP adopted a decision to celebrate in this country and abroad the 1100th anniversary of the death of the great Slavonic earliest teacher Methodius, the closest associate of his great brother Cyril (Constantine, the philosopher) in the creation of the Slavonic alphabet and in the translation of the ecclesiastical literature of those times.

The celebration will be organized under the patronage of Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council.

The decision of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP stresses that the work of the Cyril and Methodius brothers is epochal, humane, democratic and revolutionary. It was of paramount importance in the development and the flourishing of the Slavonic culture and for its great contribution to enriching European and universal civilization. In their severe struggle against the three languages dogma the Cyril and Methodius brothers were the first in medieval Europe to spread and defend the democratic principle of the right of all people to write and read and to create in their own language. This was of decisive importance for the preservation of the nationality and the originality of the Slavs.

The Cyril and Methodius brothers raised the spoken language of the people to the level of the first literary Slavonic language. They created the Slavonic alphabet and writing on the basis of the spoken language of the Bulgarian Slavs. Later, this old Bulgarian literary language became the basis of the old literary languages of the other Slavonic peoples, the decision reads.

The decision notes that the formation of the old Bulgarian literary language was a factor of paramount importance in the establishment of the young Bulgarian state as an independent and prestigious state of the medieval world, for its strengthening and intellectual growth and for the formation of the Bulgarian nationality.

92

The historical fact that the Bulgarian state saved the work of the Cyril and Methodius brothers is irrefutable, the decision points out. In the end of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth century, after the death of Methodius, his students and followers found in Bulgaria a warm welcome, protection and favorable conditions for spreading the Slavonic writing and culture. The Bulgarian people were the first among the Slavonic peoples to create a rich literature on the basis of the language spoken by the people and to establish literary schools and a literature and a culture which can be compared to the achievements of the most advanced European states of those times. The new writing and literature received recognition and through the Bulgaria were also received by other Slavonic peoples. [sentence as received]

The decision of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP points out that in the centuries of Ottoman domination the writing created by the Cyril and Methodius brothers and the old Bulgarian culture created on its basis were a life-giving force which played an invaluable role in the preservation of the Bulgarian nationality. Later, in the years of the national revival (18-19th CC) the names and the work of the Cyril and Methodius brothers turned into a banner of the struggle of the people for national liberation. Today too, the day of the Cyril and Methodius brothers--May 24--is one of the most treasured holidays for every Bulgarian.

Later, during the anti-fascist struggle, the defense of the revolutionary and democratic traditions of the work of the Cyril and Methodius brothers was part of the struggle of the wide masses, led by the BCP, against capitalism and fascism, for liberty, democracy, national independence, for friendship with the Soviet Union and all Slavonic peoples and in defense of the Slavonic cultures, the Decision reads.

It is pointed out that the ideals of the work of the Cyril and Methodius brothers have been interwoven in the Bulgarian national culture and have become a national symbol and an integral part of the historic development of Bulgaria. The ideals and the work of the two brothers and their followers are and will be an inviolable bridge between the Slavonic peoples and countries. The merits of Methodius are with good reason celebrated in many other countries as an universal wealth.

The decision of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP points out that the celebration of the 1100th anniversary of the death of Methodius will be a continuation of the varied activities related to the celebration of the 1300th anniversary of the Bulgarian state.

CSO: 2200/114

1 March 1985

## BULGARIA

## DAILIES MARK REUNIFICATION MOVEMENT CENTENNIAL

AU120950 [Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 10 February carries on page 3 a 1,400-word article by Prof Dr Yono Mitev, entitled: "Let Us Complete Our Fatherland's Final Reunification" on the occasion of the centennial of the establishment of a "Secret Bulgarian Central Revolutionary Committee for the preparation and implementation of Bulgaria's reunification" in February 1885. The article explains the establishment of the committee as a result of the unjust decision of the Berlin Conference that purely Bulgarian territories should remain under the government of the sultan, while southern Bulgaria was separated from the Principality of Bulgaria and became an administratively autonomous region."

Mitev states that "people's masses" in Bulgaria considered the situation existing in the so-called area of "Eastern Rumelia," and where the sultan still exerted great powers, where documents were being read and written in both the Bulgarian and Turkish languages, as "an offense against the nation." The author describes the historical events around the formation of the Secret Revolutionary Committee in detail and dwells on the individual personalities of the leaders, particularly on Zakhari Stoyanov, the leading figure of the movement.

Mitev also explains the complicated international relations of the epoch, the attitude of the Russian Empire toward the Bulgarian reunification movement and the various parties and factions existing among the Bulgarian middle and upper classes during that time. Mitev points out that although very different groups participated in the reunification movement, notably also "conservative circles" and even representatives of the reigning Prince Alexander Battenberg, "the reunification idea was not betrayed, because it was a national idea." Mitev also stresses the role of the Bulgarian Army of the epoch in the reunification movement, mentioning that numerous officers joined the movement.

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA on 9 February carries on page 3 a 1,000-word article on the occasion of the same anniversary by Docent Milcho Lalov, entitled: "A Sacred Cause of the People," which particularly underscores the role of the army in the aforementioned events, with strong emphasis on the "patriotic character" of the reunification movement. The article points out the following, among other things: "As early as 1880 the annals of Bulgarian history

contains documents on a secret organization which set for itself the goal of achieving the national reunification of the Bulgarian people within their legitimate ethnical, and historical borders, to unify in one state organism the principality of Bulgaria, Eastern Rulemia, and Macedonia."

Further praising the "patriotic idea of a joint action for unifying all Bulgarians, who were once more relegated to the stifling embrace of the sultan's despotism, thanks to the evil historical fate of the Berlin treaty," the article describes the events of the reunification movement in the same vein as the aforementioned RABOTNICHESKO DELO article and closes with the following statement: "Insofar as the armed action on 6 September 1885 really succeeded and our entire country celebrated a 'sacred people's deed' on this date, the contribution of the revolutionary Central Committee can hardly be underrated. In Bulgarian history this revolutionary committee left its trace as an organizational formation which was the first to accomplish a decisively successful step toward the reunification of the entire Bulgarian people and which pursued the revolutionary traditions of the insurrection decades. This, however, is sufficient for the revolutionary committee not to pass into oblivion in our history."

The following Sofia papers also carry articles on the February 1885 events: OTECHESTVEN FRONT on 8 February (p 12, 1,200 words), TRUD on 9 February (p 3, 1,200 words), ZEMEDEL'SKO ZNAME on 10 February (pp 1, 3, 2,000 words), and NARODNA MLADZHZH on 8 February (p 2, 1,200 words). The articles are written by historians and are very similar in content to the RABOTNICHESKO DELO and NARODNYA ARMIYA items.

CSO: 2200/114

BULGARIA

BRIEFS

**ELECTRICITY CUTOFFS IN SOFIA**--The Sofia City Electric Supply Economic Combine and the Sofia Economic Energy Combine announce that the difficult winter conditions have created difficulties in the normal supply of electricity and heating in Sofia. If necessary, the electricity supply will be cut off in certain districts during certain hours, as follows: Kolarov, Dimitrov, Blagoev, Kirkov, 9 September [name of district], and Kremikovski districts from 0200 to 0500, 0800-1100, 1400-1700 and 2000-2300 local time. Lenin, Levski, Botev, Iskur, Lyublin, and Banko districts from 2300 to 0200, 0500-0800, 1100-1400 and 1700-2000 hours local time. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 19 Feb 85 AU]

**HEALTH DELEGATION TO PDRY**--On 15 February a delegation of the Ministry of Public Health led by Minister Radoy Popivanov, departed for the PDRY. Minister Radoy Popivanov will take part in talks and will sign an intergovernmental agreement on cooperation in health protection. At Sofia Airport the delegation was seen off by deputy ministers and responsible officials of the Ministry of Public Health. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 15 Feb 85 AU]

CSO: 2200/114

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

REVANCHIST CLAIMS REJECTED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Jan 85 p 3.

/Article by Stanislav Oborsky: "Again?"/

/Text/ We are expected to be afraid.

We are expected to be intimidated because our golden Prague will again become "die goldene Prag." We are not the only ones who are expected to be afraid; the same applies to the Poles and even to the Hungarians. Warsaw and Budapest too will be in a revanchist pan-Germanic shadow. At least, this is what one of the Bonn ministers noted. I quote from an article in RUDE PRAVO: "At a rally of West Prussians which took place in Munster in May 1984, Minister Windelen was called a 'smart and good advisor who exudes courage' because he included in their Europe (i.e, the Europe as seen by revanchists, author's comment) Dresden and Warsaw, Prague and Budapest."

This Bonn minister is not the only one who talks this way. A Norbert Mathern who lives not far from Furth in Wald demands without further ado in one of the revanchist yellow journals the "occupation" of the Domazlice area and our other border krajs and the restoration of the "German heritage" there.

More people in the Federal Republic of Germany talk this way.

Is this stupid talk? Naturally. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is no Masaryk-Benes Republic which could be sold out to Hitler in order to insure fat wallets for the Preises, the Zadinass and others and also in the interest of the anti-Soviet goals of imperialism. Neither are we subordinate to the will and decisions of the politicians of the West. In our country we will never again hear the knell of treason which in 1938 was struck by sweet France and proud Albion. Our socialist republic is strong in every respect and is surrounded by loyal allies and class brethren tested through many struggles--the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic, which since its inception has outlawed revanchism, and other countries of the socialist community.

No, we are not afraid.

Many tourists from the Federal Republic of Germany come to visit our country. Many of them prefer to visit the border areas. Perhaps they do so because of



the nostalgic reminiscences of their youth. However, are these reminiscences the only reason? In 1968, when antisocialist forces were disrupting the republic, the visitors included revanchist insolents who came to see how we were maintaining "their property" to which they still press some kind of a claim. A well-known comrade from Chomutov Okres wrote me a letter at that time in which he described the visit of one such revanchist swell-head who had demanded to be admitted into a house to see in what kind of order it was. Probably my behavior was less than diplomatic, wrote my old friend, but I grabbed him by his neck and carried him out through the courtyard. My friend behaved correctly; he had every right to do what he did.

I am not telling this story to prompt unfavorable bias against West German tourists. I repeat: those who come here with an honest aim to learn about our country and its life are met with friendly reception. And they know it. However, we must also deal with the Norbert Matherns who would like to incorporate Domazlice Kores. The various Landsmanschaften have a membership of 2 and  $\frac{1}{2}$  million, and these members openly call for revenge. According to various public opinion polls, the desire for revenge is also manifested among some of the West German youth. And one should not wonder, because the chauvinist understanding of their history, for years taught in the schools in the Federal Republic of Germany, necessarily promotes such a desire.

I repeat, we are strong enough to evict each and every intruder from our property. However, this does not mean that we can afford to minimize revanchism or discount it. Revanchism can be compared to a strong layer of rust which could dangerously damage the fabric of relations in Europe, all the more so as it has become part of the policy of Chancellor Kohl's government. After all, did Minister Windelen not state from the official rostrum of the Bundestag the following: "We have moved cooperation with the expellees' organizations from a secondary place to the level of German politics?" There are at present many statements of this kind in the Federal Republic of Germany. Even if the members of the government declare their loyalty to the Final Act and to various international obligations signed by the Federal Republic of Germany, other leading politicians are not watching their words at all.

While the disruptive wind of revanchism blows from the Rhine, it really originates further, from across the ocean, in the United States. There, in the Washington suburb of Arlington, a neo-Nazi and revanchist organization, the Schiller Institute, was founded. The name of a great poet and humanist is obviously used to disguise the real activity of this "institute," which aims at nothing else than the creation of a "healthy world order." This "healthy world order" naturally presupposes the liquidation of socialism and, in the first place, of the Soviet Union. All this was expressed more succinctly by Hitler in his "Mein Kampf," where he wrote about a "new order."

At the end of August 1945, a mass grave was discovered not far from Chomutov, in the vicinity of today's Bezruc Valley. At the time of the discovery, the grave was not even covered by grass. A couple of German antifascists who had miraculously survived in the city told us that sometime in April, at the very end of the war, a "death March" of inmates of a concentration camp passed through Chomutov. Many of the prisoners fell from exhaustion right in the city's streets.

However, most of them were killed by sticks and kicks. And not only by the SS-men who accompanied the transport. The exhausted prisoners were also attacked by dozens of Chomutov Nazis. The defeat of Germany was already certain and the Nazis were enraged, really enraged....

All those who had dirtied their hands with the blood of powerless, weak prisoners hoisted from the windows of their homes small white flags after the arrival of the Red Army and asked for humane treatment. Naturally, none of us new settlers could point his finger and say: you are a murderer. So they continued to live content in their homes and went to work in the Mannesmann factory and in the mines and received for their work money and food ration stamps the same as all of us, up to the time of their transfer from our country. This was a justified transfer, approved at the Potsdam Conference by the topmost representatives of the Allied powers.

Now they call themselves "expellees"; they would like to come back, even to our country.

Naturally, they will never succeed.

1277

CSO: 2400/234

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

RESPONSIBILITY IN SCIENCE, RESEARCH DISCUSSED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Dec 84 p 4

[Excerpts] These days, every researcher and specialist, anybody who is connected with creative activity, not only scientific, but also artistic, is repeatedly faced with situations in which he has to respond to questions of how and why will he solve this or that problem, what practical application he expects from his findings, discoveries, inventions, work.

To a large extent, the answers depend on the ideological orientation of each author, his outlook on life, values and moral norms which we have identified with and in the name of which we wage our struggles and accept "our sufferings,"--on the overall perception of the society in the second half of the 20th century. Discussions on this subject lead to an unambiguous conclusion: the ideological stance of a person is a reality influencing the character and results of creative activity, and as such it represents a methodological factor.

For this reason, philosophy holds a vital place in our "life's credo," encompassing the world in its entirety, pointing up the relationship of the analyzed problem to its determining causes, and equipping the research worker with the knowledge of the most general laws of nature, society, and thought processes. And not only this, philosophy teaches us to understand the world around us in a way that leads one to prefer certain values to others, to orient oneself toward certain ideals, norms, principles, attaching to them personal meaning or, conversely, rejecting them.

From the standpoint of "strategic orientation," world view becomes the "philosophy." It is the public, or private--and in some instances it even may be the subconscious--acceptance of views resulting from learning and analysis, it is a view of the world through the prism that splits and refracts the rays of imperfection and open-endedness of societal understanding.

Our imperfect and incomplete understanding of the world of man, nature, and intellect stems from the fact that its development, including societal development, does not occur without internal contradictions. Even the building of socialism has its dialectics, and therefore a situation cannot

occur in which there exists no need to exactly, objectively and with necessary depth and breadth identify, evaluate, resolve in timely fashion, overcome, and by the use of preventive action regulate contradictions inherent in as complex social organism as a socialist society. These contradictions have their concrete causes. In the currently ongoing dialogue in the USSR we are reminded that, from the methodological standpoint, it would be an oversimplification to assume that all contradictions in our society can always, and under all circumstances, be devoid of antagonism. In their comprehension and resolution lies the very dialectic of the evolution of socialist society. This also holds true with respect to scientific research where only he who combines the insights of dialectic materialism with a professional understanding of specific issues of his discipline, his speciality, can actualize these insights. Without such a foundation, i.e., without professionalism and a thorough and comprehensive command of the discipline's issues, we shall not attain any results in the scientific endeavor.

Knowledge of philosophy and of its methodological principles is the beginning, the starting point of an intellectual process that leads to an understanding of the causes of the phenomenon in question, its origin, evolution, and decline. The principles of dialectical materialism exist precisely only as principles, on the basis of which an understanding can then be developed.

It sounds trivial, but the mere knowledge of philosophy cannot overcome dilettantism in a specific scientific discipline and lead us to a new, true findings in the area of specific problems in the field of social or natural sciences. Not infrequently, dilettantism makes use of constant repetition of general propositions, principles and theorems that we may read in every textbook. Such an approach is of poor service in the solution of specific problems, such as, for example, analysis of deviant behavior of some youth groups, problems of young married couples, solution of issues relating to the devastation of nature, problems of motivation when attempting to raise labor productivity, etc.

This, of course, in no way changes the fact that philosophy nowadays permeates our lives ever more and more, and that, of necessity, an active person leans on it for the most general principles, rules and concepts that he has adopted and that have proven their worth in the not exactly easy struggles for the understanding and changing of the world of man, nature, and thought. On the manner in which these principles, rules, and concepts are applied depend also the results of a specific activity of a science researcher. This applies not only to the field of humanities, but also the so-called exact sciences, such as physics, mathematics, astronomy, chemistry, biology, cybernetics, and other disciplines that are traditionally viewed as "outside party politics."

There cannot be today a more urgent intellectual issue than the question of how nuclear energy will be used, what impact psychotropic gases, napalm, and cruise missiles will have on mankind. At stake is nothing more

and nothing less than the survival of humanity. Who would like to talk about "science being above partisanship?" After all, we are not without experiences. No verbal assurances and noble discourse on the issue on nonpartisanship or above-partisanship and on the role of "pure science" or "pure art" have ever been able to camouflage whom their authors are serving in reality. Their purpose has been to justify in moral terms the acts of people who have served, and are serving, the interests of exploiting classes and militaristic groups. Indeed, this is the morality of those whom Lenin wrote of as "...the educated lackeys of the capitalists."

Today, more than at any other time in the past, class consciousness and partisanship (whether or not expressed by membership in the communist party) is part of the moral responsibility of the scientist, and it substantially influences not only the direction of scientific research, but above all that which is usually most important--the result and its deliberate application in the struggles for humanity's progress toward revolution. Whatever is the partisan orientation of the scientist, such is his philosophy; and whatever is the philosophy such are also the ultimate goals of the scientific research.

Just as there exists no abstract, pure science, there does not exist an abstract morality. Morality is always concrete, and in the final analysis it expresses class interests. Morality is becoming a very important, contradictory, intrinsically differentiated phenomenon.

The Marxist ideal of self-realization is necessarily connected not only with moral consciousness, but also with moral praxis. Moral norms and principles guiding one's activity and behavior are therefore inevitably also part of the inner convictions of man and his orientation in life. It is impossible to separate from these norms and principles the answer to the question of why and for whom one works--only and solely for oneself, for the satisfaction of one's own needs and interests, or consciously for the realization of the needs and interests of the party and the entire society. Hidden in the answer is not only a very complex, but also a very sensitive dilemma, not readily discussed and much less often written about. On the surface it all seems very simple and unambiguous. We are probably all in agreement that nowadays the truly moral is that which is done for the benefit of working people, which serves the interest of peace, social progress, strengthening of international ties among nations, [and] which weakens imperialism.

To cross the boundary of theoretical considerations and to move onto the plane of practical, specific application of certain moral norms means to enter situations not only full of contradictions but also of conflict. The question here is, for example, whether we find the courage to part company with those for whom to have a job in a scientific workplace means an "easy life." Will we succeed in creating a climate in our scientific workplace that would make everybody feel the political and moral responsibility for maximum utilization of the financial resources that these institutions cost the society?

A serious research effort is, as a rule, a long-term affair. It requires time and space. One needs patience in evaluating it. This entails some unpleasant realities. Scientific "sterility" comes to light only after a certain length of time. However, during this time, as a rule, the organization of the workplace changes, new personnel decisions are made, goals of the research plan are modified and so on. Thus, it is not easy to recognize who is carrying the burden of serious scientific effort, who has the know-how and works honestly, and who is in only for the ride, or at best accomplishing the objectives of his own research career. To wade into these problems is to place one's hand into the hornet's nest--because this one knows so and so, that one somebody else, this one has earned gratitude in the past, the other has influential connections...

The solution seems simple, yet it is difficult: to create in our scientific research institutions the kind of social climate in which people, while immersed in a demanding work regimen, are evaluated not according to their former merits, positions held, functions and personal connections, but according to the actually delivered and stringently evaluated scientific research work. This is one of the fundamental and probably most important preconditions for creating in these places an atmosphere of creativity, healthy competition and mutual support, an atmosphere of comradely relations that do not permit the sapping of people's energies in many endless and often nonsensical interpersonal conflicts.

Scientific research sites must also not be allowed to become personnel dumping grounds. The researcher's person, too, is an objective condition for scientific work. A research person has, in any given, historically limited point in time, available to him certain quantities of not fully verifiable data. He should be capable of generating more information than he has himself received. It is in this "more" that the roots of human creativity are found.

One of the central problems of our time is the union between scientific research activity and social practice. Even though we repeat more than once that science has become practice, and practice has become scientific, the question comes up again and again whether implementation of new ideas and findings has become routine at all levels of management.

Experiences show that strengthening and institutionalizing relations between research centers and corresponding management areas may mean a lot. No new findings come about in a vacuum. Every thought, discovery, theory requires not only understanding on the part of the author himself, but also the kind of reasoning that will make possible its full utilization; society, after all, functioned both before its discovery, and before the dissemination of the findings that sociological research, for example, has brought about. In order for a new concept to put down roots, in order for it to acquire substance, it has to displace old concepts and take their place in our system of knowledge.

Even under the conditions of such a socially homogeneous, and in its interests and goals progressive, society as socialism, it remains true that in order for new data and concepts to be instituted, a not insignificant amount of energy must be expended by those who we engaged in the struggles of our time. Ethical questions form the bridge that can lead not only to the application of scientific effort, but also to the overcoming of an entire array of fruitless personal conflicts that at times become a brake on every forward movement.

12876

CSO: 2400/199

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

MAJOR PHASES OF FOREIGN POLICY ANALYZED

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV in German vol 17 No 12, Dec 84 pp 1263-1271

[Article by W. Venohr: "The National Question During 35 Years of GDR History"]

[Text] Thirty-five years ago, on 7 October 1949, the "German Democratic Republic" was founded, the second separate state on German soil. An incisive event in German national history! Because since then, there exists a communist state structure on German territory and within the body of the German people; and it has been in existence longer than the Weimar Republic and the "Third Reich" put together. Foreseeing the end of this situation is as impossible as assessing its consequences for the German people as a whole.

This much is certain, however: namely, that the secular significance of this founding process has been fatally underestimated by Germans in the FRG to this day, and it is also certain that the attempt to escape the political consequences of this event by a political turn toward the West, has failed across the board. Especially the last 5 years have shown that no matter how the FRG twists and turns--it cannot rid itself of the GDR or the "German question;" it will never be rid of it.

In public awareness, the year 1949 seems generally underexposed. It stands in the shadow of that catastrophe which is euphemized under the heading "1945." But Germany was not divided in 1945. On the contrary: the Potsdam Conference was still entirely under the image of an integrated (truncated) Germany. In this respect, then Soviet ambassador Falin was entirely right when he pointed out in Aschaffenburg in 1983 that the partition of Germany was in no way a consequence of Hitler's policies, but rather that decisive events occurred during the years 1945 to 1949 which were prelude and preparation for the partitioning of Germany. Admittedly, the German Reich was totally destroyed and occupied in 1945. But the formal division into two states happened in 1949 through the founding of the FRG, than that of the GDR.

Since the, since 1949, the Communist state on German soil pursues an effective policy for Germany, in controversy or dialectical unity--as one wishes-- with regard to the FRG. But different from Bonn's policy for Germany, which so far has registered only one turn of incisive significance, i.e., that of 1969 (when the Brandt-Scheel coalition came to power), GDR policy on Germany has run in a confusing curve of tactical turns, even of ideological contradictions.



It appears to me that in the past 35 years there have been three major operative phases in GDR policy on Germany:

1. The "all-German" phase 1949-1969
2. The "demarcation" phase 1970-1980
3. The "Piedmont" phase 1981-?

1. The "All-German" Phase

Naturally, Soviet and German Communist deliberations regarding an operative policy for Germany started long before 1949. One can probably date its beginning at the end of 1941 when, on the one hand, it was clear that the German Reich--due to Hitler's attack on 22 June 1941--could no longer be considered a peaceful and equal partner to Soviet foreign policy and, on the other hand, due to the Soviet defensive victory at the gates of Moscow, the long-term prospect opened up that a finally defeated Germany could be treated as an object of Soviet claims to power and as an experimental field for German communists.

Certainly, there was also a phase--for instance, during the Teheran Conference in November 1943--when the Soviet leadership flirted with the idea of a dismemberment of Germany. It may be left open to speculation in how far these were only cunning chess moves by Stalin in order to entice the Western powers onto the anticipated slippery ice. It is certain that this phase was of short duration and that as of early 1944, Soviet policy for Germany was directed at a united, undivided German people, as expressed in February 1944 by the Circassian element of the National Committee [for a] Free Germany.

This "black-white-red" phase not only corresponded to Stalin's ideological understanding of nations ("Hitlers come and go; the German people, the German state stays"); it also coincided with the imperialist-hegemonial aspirations of the Kremlin which--in accordance with the further development of the military situation--were from now on directed consistently and resolutely toward all of Germany.

Naturally, the German communists had to obey this without criticism. But then, this line coincided without problems with their own understanding, their own traditions which, since the times of the Communist Manifesto of 1847-48, were directed at one single, indivisible German republic. Furthermore, the communist emigres finally realized the seriousness of the mistake they had committed when during the Weimar Republic--incidentally, just like the SPD--they had left the field of patriotism and love of fatherland unresistingly to the "Fascist" counterrevolution. This was not about to happen to them again. Accordingly, it was resolved at the 15th Party Congress of the KPD in 1946 to assume a positive stance on the question of the nation, and declared: "Thus the barriers have been torn down which in the past barred wide sectors of the people from joining the socialist movement. Our broad national policy will make us into the decisive power of the entire people..."

The founding of the SED in 1946, the "Socialist Party of Germany," also took place under this all-German concept. However, it became apparent during the

years 1947-1949 that the conquest of all of (truncated) Germany was not feasible. The anti-communist will of resistance of the Germans, protected and supported by the Western powers, could neither be broken nor infiltrated. Still, it would be incorrect to deduce from this an a priori, purposeful intent of the Soviets and their German communists to establish their own separate Communist state between the Elbe and Oder rivers. There is no doubt that as of 1947, for this unwelcome alternative secretly all organizational, economic and personnel preparations were made (for example in the form of the standing People's Police). But the real, the strategic goal of Soviet and German communist policy always remained all of Germany.

Under this motto the "German Democratic Republic" was founded, which occurred on 7 October 1949 as a countermove to the establishment of the "Federal Republic of Germany." Thus the first GDR constitution of that same year presents itself as a document of the struggle for one German nation. It proclaimed all of Germany one "indivisible democratic republic" and declared that there could only be one German nationality which was equally valid for all Germans.

Only a year later, in 1950, the fight over the "remilitarization of West Germany" began, i.e., the dramatic conflict over rearming the Federal Republic and binding it to the West which lasted about 4 years, until the fall of 1954. During those 4 years the GDR, as represented in SED propaganda, practically appeared as the champion of German unity, and all agitation by East Berlin was directed at a solution of the national question. The 2nd SED Party Conference of 12 July 1952 demanded the "national liberation fight against the American, British, and French occupiers in West Germany" as well as the "overthrow of their puppet government in Bonn." Time and again the call was for "Germans [together] at one table!", and the determined flight for reunification was defined as the "task of all peaceful and patriotic forces in Germany."

GDR policy in those 4 years was thus of a decided "all-German" orientation, and it was never a question of anything but the one German nation. (Accordingly, the then still existing KPD in the FRG championed its "program of national reunification.") At the same time, this was the phase when the GDR leadership always had to fear being "sacrificed" by the Soviets in favor of a Germany arrangement with the Western powers and Bonn. Such fears were triggered, for instance, by the famous Stalin note of 10 March 1952, which proposed a reunified Germany in armed neutrality. (I could personally observe the fact that the GDR leadership was completely surprised by the Stalin proposal. Two days before the Stalin note, in a great discussion with the GDR "Peace Council" in East Berlin, GDR functionaries Heinz Willmann and Lehweß-Litzmann stated categorically that a reunited Germany must never have its own army.)

Concerns of this kind were also occasioned by the journey to Bonn of a People's Chamber delegation under the leadership of Otto Nuschke in September 1952, on which the future GDR foreign minister Lothar Bolz reported to a small circle in East Berlin that it had practically been a "suicide delegation," because it had had firm instructions from the Soviets to agree to almost any West

German condition; but, as Bolz added complacently, "no one in Bonn troubled to talk with them."

Although all this was worrisome and threatening to the GDR leadership, in the last analysis it was not a contradiction of East Berlin's "all-German" policy line. Not the line itself, but its possible consequences on a policy for Germany may have caused headaches. And even the heart-wrenching events of the people's uprising on 17 June 1953 did not fundamentally change that. The uprising itself, in addition to other aspects, had a decidedly all-German and national character. As I experienced it myself at the time, the insurgents time and again demanded the unity of Germany. Their main battle cry demanded free elections in all of Germany, or they shouted: "Berliners, come join us! Let's all be Germans together!" Finally, they sang in all the streets and squares of the GDR the German national anthem.

Thus there was no occasion or possibility for the GDR leadership--especially with a view to their own people--to abandon their "all-German" positions if they did not want to lose their last shred of credibility with the masses. It is true that Soviet policy on Germany in the following 9 months threw SED leaders into a veritable spasm of fear and trembling, when Beria was ready to sacrifice the GDR unceremoniously on the altar of a reunited neutral Germany and when, at the Berlin Conference in early 1954, the Soviets favored free elections under international control in all of Germany and reunification was within close reach (or so it seemed).

This trauma of being "sacrificed" by the Soviets for some higher goal has not left GDR leaders to this day; it is deeply engraved in their political awareness. (The unusual reprints from the INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE in the official SED organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND of 23 December 1983, in which a reunited, neutral Germany was polemicized, demonstrated in a striking manner with what insecurity and fear the GDR leadership reacts even today, if only vague rumors surface about the Kremlin's interest in reunification.) Nonetheless, nothing changed in the "all-German" line of GDR policy during 1954 and 1955, even when the FRG was integrated in NATO, and ISVESTIA in a famous article said a long-term farewell to German national unity, in a way dedicating to it a melancholy-angry obituary.

However, although the "all-German" aspect of East Berlin policy remained constant over-all during the following 15 years, until 1969, the terminology underwent a significant change. Previously, the only mention had always been of the need for reuniting the German nation in one state. Now, on 19 November 1954, a GDR government declaration spoke for the first time officially of the "existence of two German states on German soil."

This did not signify by any means that the claim to reunification had been renounced, and GDR propaganda continued determinedly to be based on the existence of one nation. But on 29 August 1956, a statement of the GDR foreign ministry declared that the GDR considers itself as one of the "successor states" of the German Reich and thus underlined--also internationally--the thesis that on the territory of the one German nation there are now two German states.

This doctrine of "two states--one nation" was quite compatible when the GDR leadership under Walter Ulbricht launched its confederation variant from about 1957 to 1962. The proposal, conceived by Bonn finance minister Fritz Schaeffer and floated in Moscow and East Berlin in 1956, was based on the realization that de facto and in reality two different states existed in Germany, that a quick and systematic reunification of the two parts of Germany was no longer in the picture and that, therefore, as a long-term transitional solution a federation of German states was worth striving for. Such a concept was quite compatible in form with the then propagated GDR doctrine on Germany of the "two states of one nation," and in content Ulbricht could advocate it unreservedly, since a decade of experience with a policy on Germany had taught him the realization--no matter what East Berlin might propose to Bonn, it was never accepted, not even discussed. (And for this reason the GDR leadership during those years never needed to bolster its vague proposal of confederation with concrete and detailed ideas.)

It is an astonishing fact, and in my opinion not sufficiently recognized, how skillfully Ulbricht managed to save his aggressive policy on Germany even beyond the building of the wall on 13 August 1961. Without a doubt, the building of the wall diagonally across Germany and Berlin represented a glaring defeat for GDR policy. Especially on the national question, the SED leadership had lost the last shred of credibility. To speak of one German nation, and in practice to tear it apart by force, created a contradiction that could hardly be bridged and defined.

But Ulbricht was not deflected from his "all-German" propaganda course. In 1962, in the "national document" of the NATIONALE FRONT of the GDR there was specific mention of the "nation split into two states." In 1963, the SED party program promised that it was GDR policy to uphold unchangingly the goal of "reestablishing the national unity of Germany;" the SED is the party of "national dignity and national unity." And in 1966, in the GDR membership application to the United Nations, it is stated quite consistently: "Each of the two German states has its own government apparatus, its own economic system and its independent army. Regardless of this, these two states constitute one nation."

The climax, and simultaneously the end, of the "all-German" policy firmly pursued by Walter Ulbricht for 15 years was lastly the new GDR constitution of 1968. In Article 1, the GDR was defined as a "socialist state of the German nation." And in Article 8 it was declared:

"Establishment and maintenance of normal relations and cooperation of the two German states on the basis of equal rights are a national concern of the German Democratic Republic." As if this were not enough, it was further stated: "Furthermore, the German Democratic Republic and its citizens endeavor to overcome the partition of Germany forced upon the German nation by imperialism, and aim at a gradual rapprochement of the two German states until their unification on the basis of democracy and socialism."

On the basis of democracy and socialism--this naturally meant that a communist unified Germany along the lines of the GDR model was aimed at.

And since the autumn of 1954, SED policy had never had any other intent. But this did not change the all-German, the national aspect of SED policy at the time. Whatever had been the true intentions of East Berlin, wherever the border between strategy and tactic may have been, the existence of one single German nation was never questioned verbally, the long-term goal of national reunification has never been disavowed in the twenty years since 1949.

## 2. The "Demarcation" Phase

In the fall of 1969, the Federal Government in Bonn changed; the Brandt-Scheel coalition came to power. And very soon it became clear that a new policy on Germany was to be created on the Rhine which was based on recognition of the status quo, i.e., the existence of two states in Germany (whereby the "unity of the nation" was not sacrificed).

Basically, the GDR leadership could have been jubilant; for it was exactly what they had been fighting for tirelessly for 15 years, since 1954: namely, that there were two states of the German nation.

But the Bonn thesis of special "inner-German" relations between the FRG and the GDR, founded on the continued existence of the unity of the nation, called forth the strongest resistance by the SED: "This demagoguery aims primarily at obfuscating the historical truth and legitimacy in the consciousness of the masses that the "German Reich" perished forever in 1945 in the fire of the Hitler war, and that since the breaking away of the FRG through the German haute bourgeoisie in league with the Western powers, there no longer exists a united German nation, and that there cannot be a unity of the nation as long as imperialism rules West Germany." (NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 23 December 1969). It took another year and a half until the GDR leadership--with massive Soviet prompting and after grave internal disputes with Walter Ulbricht--officially found a new line for their policy on Germany, with which it hoped to counter the changed Bonn strategy.

This was not only a new tactical phase or variant in the SED policy regarding Germany; it was tantamount to an ideological reversal of all traditional communist values. Surrendering the claim to one German nation (simultaneously renouncing the claim to one German communist nation) meant not only a strategic withdrawal from the offensive to the defensive in the German question; above all, it meant a radical break with all political and historical traditions of the past, i.e., practically the entire socialist legacy.

The proclamation of two German nations not only disavowed the credibility and seriousness of the SED in matters of a policy on Germany since 1949--more than 20 years, in effect--but in addition it was a diametric contradiction to the political-philosophical positions of Engels and Marx, of Liebknecht and Luxemburg, i.e., the entire socialist line of tradition of the national question since 1848. Whatever had been momentarily under tactical debate of this chain of history, separatism had never entered into it; the intent of dividing or splintering the German people had always been denounced as "national treason" and as an accursed crime of the "imperialist bourgeoisie," whether it had been a matter of the West German Confederation of the Rhine

after 1805, the occupation of the Rhineland and the struggle over the Ruhr after 1918, or the Adenauer policy after World War II.

The new SED demarcation policy, which replaced two German states with two German nations, fell into the right propaganda step early in the summer of 1971 and soon developed into a re-education campaign whose victim for almost a decade became the German people of the GDR, who were almost completely abandoned to it by West German politics as well as the West German media. Particularly during the years up to 1977, a rigorous denationalization policy came into being in the GDR in which almost everything reminiscent of "Germany" was erased and renamed, and in which finally one's own national anthem with the passage "Germany, United Fatherland" was no longer permitted to be sung.

The climax of this anti-national demarcation line was reached in 1974, when Erich Honecker had the GDR constitution changed. It was mostly a matter of reformulating two paragraphs so that it resulted in totally eliminating any mention of the German nation, which had still been emphatically stressed in the Ulbricht constitution of 1968.

Thus a constitution came into being which has no equal in the world. It says nothing about the nationality of the people who live in the "GDR" state, and one cannot even determine geographically where GDR citizens actually exist. To speak in terms of Karl Marx--a constitution of "nowhere-people." The SED leadership under Honecker was quite aware of the hazardous nature of this undertaking; while Ulbricht had prepared his change of the constitution in 1968 with a broad campaign among the people and had it seemingly "blessed" by the vox populi, Honecker's new constitutional change was practically imposed as in a coup d'etat, and exclusively before the powerless forum of the GDR People's Chamber.

This did not succeed for long. The grassroots level of the SED for quite some time had been under the pressure of embarrassing in-house and factory discussions. GDR inhabitants asked the functionaries what in fact they were, if they were no longer to be Germans. Certain functionaries met with a total lack of understanding among Soviet comrades in Moscow when they answered the question about their nationality with "GDR." As early as December 1974, Honecker saw himself obliged to take half a step backwards and to declare publicly that there were no problems whatsoever; "citizenship--GDR; nationality--German," although he knew quite well that the concept of nationality is interpreted in the entire world as the "affiliation of a person with his nation."

Thus the SED, after tortuous twistings and turnings, had again arrived at the point where it had begun in 1970. For the fact that the GDR was of German nationality had been expressly stated in the Ulbricht constitution of 1968, so that the entire demarcation campaign including the changes in the constitution could have been eschewed. The anti-national SED policy found no echo whatsoever among the GDR population, and actually met with bitter opposition. Even in the Soviet Union and the other socialist states--particularly in Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria--this GDR line aroused reserve and lack of understanding; no one was ready to have their own socialism run

the risk of anti-national suspicion for the sake of the GDR. Furthermore, the North Korean comrades demanded ever more forcefully reunification of their country at that time, so that in 1977, on the occasion of a Honecker visit to North Korea, the conclusion of a new friendship treaty failed, since Kim Il Sung unyieldingly demanded a formulation of the text according to which the parties to the treaty would have had to profess the right of every nation to its national and state unity. If Honecker had signed this, he would have lost face internationally. And the government of the mighty People's Republic of China, especially between 1977 and 1979, did not miss a chance to emphasize that they, on their part, supported the "just claim of the German people to national unity," and that it saw a danger for peace and balance in the world not in the reunification of (truncated) Germany, but rather in the arms-rattling hegemony of the two super powers.

By the turn of the year 1977/78, there were growing indications that the GDR leadership would not be able to continue its anti-national demarcation policy much longer. As a characteristic highlight on the great irritation which this Honecker policy had caused even among the SED, one must mention the so-called manifesto of the SED opposition, published in the FRG at the beginning of 1978. It really did come from SED ranks and it was known beforehand to Politburo member Willi Stoph and the Soviet leadership that it would be published in DER SPIEGEL. The major object of attack in this manifesto was the anti-national policy of the GDR leadership.

At the end of 1980, after 10 years of demarcation policy, the balance sheet in East Berlin showed that this line in the policy on Germany had ended in a total fiasco. The great retreat from the offensive to the defensive in the policy on Germany had been a failed operation; in retrospect, Walter Ulbricht was brilliantly rehabilitated. The result of 10 years of effort was this: one's own population was disaffected--one's own party was deeply insecure-- and one's own allies showed reserve or dissasociated themselves. Result: no matter how the GDR turned or twisted, it simply could not rid itself of the nation.

### 3. The "Piedmont" Phase

On 15 February 1981, Erich Honecker stated in a speech before GDR functionaries: "When...the workers tackle the socialist restructuring of the FRG, then the question of unification of the two German states is a totally new one! There can be no doubt about how we will decide then." The astounded functionaries broke into spontaneous applause. Two days later, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND celebrated the 25th anniversary of the founding of the National People's Army with the headline: "The National People's Army is the only German army deserving of this name."

With this, a new chord was played in GDR policy on Germany. The world situation had changed drastically; detente euphoria had again been replaced by confrontation of the two super powers. Afghanistan--Reagan--Poland--missile fight: the world political scene changed under these catchwords. And in the FRG, the steadily swelling peace movement picked up the vocabulary of a new, all-German patriotism.

The GDR leadership reacted most sensitively to this. The Honecker statement of 15 February 1981 disclosed that it had been decided to replace the worn-out and failed demarcation policy with something new. This new line which has been pursued ever since could best be designated as the "Piedmont" phase. (The kingdom of Piedmont, during the last century, was a central state of Italy which became the starting point and basis of the national state unification of Italy. Piedmont pursued a policy of not sacrificing its own splinter state for the sake of the nation as a whole, but instead strengthening and enlarging it consistently in order to carry out the unification of Italy from there, which was then totally successful in 1859-1861 under the minister president, Count Cavour.) The GDR leadership did not at all return to the "all-German" line of Walter Ulbricht, but it again focused realistically on the fact of the German nation by abandoning the denationalization policy in the GDR and, on the contrary, began to "nationalize" its own state more and more, i.e., turning it into a kind of Piedmont of Germany.

The proposition of two nations was not abandoned absolutely, but it was repressed in favor of the formulation of two Germanys. Thereby the ominous word "Germany" regained new life after being taboo for 10 years. And even the term "national," which had been strictly banned, was re-introduced by grafting it in a "Piedmont fashion" onto one's own splinter state. In 1981, an author's collective of the GDR announced: "Without a socialist German national consciousness, the nation of the GDR is not capable of existence or action in the long term."<sup>1</sup> This, among other things, was the SED reaction to the extraordinarily public success of the TV series in 11 parts, "Documents of German Existence," a complete German national history on West German TV which led to hectic conferences in East Berlin, particularly at the Academy for Social Sciences at the SED Central Committee.

After a ten-year delay, East Berlin began to understand the value of a German national history as a weapon in the present political confrontation. Suddenly it was said that "the GDR makes its claim on all progressive traditions of German history in all territories" and in order to avoid any misunderstanding, one also casually disseminated the insight that the "national history" newly to be assimilated must include not only the recent history of development of the GDR: "...rather, it contains the entirety of German history since the beginning of the German people as an ethnic unity."<sup>2</sup>

Into this "Piedmont" concept, namely, nationalizing the GDR and making it into the model state for all of Germany, fitted the reconstruction of the equestrian statue of Frederick the Great on Unter den Linden street, and the renewed rise of Martin Luther to the position of spiritual ancestor of the Protestant regions east of the Elbe of the former Reich. Prof Walter Schmidt of the Academy for Social Sciences at the SED Central Committee made it unmistakably clear that all this was not just incidental piecemeal work, but rather a well-calculated, long-term strategy concerning all of Germany when

<sup>1</sup> Autorenkollektiv, *Dialektik des Sozialismus*, East Berlin 1981.

<sup>2</sup> Walter Schmidt, in: *Zeitschrift fuer Geschichtswissenschaft*, vol 5, East Berlin 1981.



in 1983 he developed the following guidelines for the future national self-image of the GDR in the GDR standard work, "History-Ideology-Politics" (Dietz Publishing Company, East Berlin):

"In recent times, politicians and ideologues of the FRG enjoyed imputing to us that, with our allegiance to the GDR as a socialist state, and with the declaration that here the socialist German is developing, we are 'stealing away' from German history. Naturally, this is totally absurd and actually only expresses the old bourgeois wish dream of denouncing anything revolutionary as 'un-German,' thus putting the socialist GDR in contradiction to German history in order to discredit it as a 'socialist neuter' without history.

As a matter of course, the GDR as well as the FRG both derive from German history. The formation and development of the GDR as a socialist German state are most closely connected with the historic struggles of the German people since its existence...No Marxist historian would ever dream of denying that German history demonstrates certain common characteristics, German history being an objective process of class struggles in the differently organized German state territories during a period of a millenium, since the emergence of the German people as an ethnic identify. To say it in few words, of course we are continuing German history.

And despite all bourgeois imputations, we come to terms with all of German history, of which we as Germans share a part, just as we, as Europeans, are part of European history. This hold true chronologically, territorially, and socio-structurally. The national history of the GDR does not begin with the direct genesis of the GDR, but contains chronologically German history since the formation process of the German people. Our image of German history also cannot be narrowed down to the German territories--as some bourgeois ideologues would like to have it--which have been incorporated in the domain of the GDR, but includes territorially all German regions up to the middle of this century, insofar as they were incorporated in the German Reich, and earlier, in the German Confederation, and the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation before 1806, respectively..."

This new "Piedmont" phase of the GDR cannot be demonstrated more clearly; the historical-ideological inner lining of East Berlin's present policy on Germany is clearly spread out. From 919 (Heinrich I, first king of the Germans) to 1949 (founding of the GDR state), i.e., over a period of 1030 years, the national history of the German people is understood and accepted as a historical unity by the SED.

And if it is specifically said that the GDR continues German history, the total rejection of the anti-national demarcation policy of the years 1970 to 1980 has been executed verbally; whether this is being acknowledged publicly or not. For the GDR is now not only a "socialist" but quite clearly also again a "German" state; that is, a second or other part of Germany! There is no longer any talk of the "national history of the GDR;" the history of the GDR is now--as stressed by Politburo member Kurt Hager on 15 December 1983--a chapter in the national history "of the German people." A German people whose existence was doggedly denied by the SED leadership for 10 years, but

which Erich Honecker suddenly and blithely mentioned again to federal chancellor Kohl in a letter of September 1983.

This line is not in contradiction to the well known interviews of the GDR state council chairman with French and Italian newspapers, in which he claimed several times that "socialism" and "capitalism," like fire and water, do not mix. Aside from the fact that in the nuclear age, fire and water can well be mixed, with surprisingly eruptive results, he only gave a description of conditions of the present situation in Germany--as a tactical reassurance for the West European public--without committing himself for the future to any one direction, or tying his own hands.

How carefully and at the same time resolutely the GDR leadership pursues this Piedmont line of its present policy on Germany, how painstakingly one endeavors to expand and strengthen one's "preparedness" for the national problem on the one hand, and how one tries to camouflage and play it down on the other hand, becomes strikingly clear in a Honecker interview which he gave to Austrian television and was broadcast in March of 1984.

The Austrian reporter asked: "Mr Chairman of the State Council, how do you feel about a statement such as the one by SPD chairman Willi Brandt, who recently said that Europe must aim toward a future in which the two German states are no longer the victim of the situation between the blocks?"

Honecker answered: "You know, there have always been things in common. And so they will also exist in the future! These things in common stem from history. In how far the future will continue them, that must be left to the future.

Regarding the question of unification of the two German states, I would like to say that the question is unreal for the reason that one cannot unite socialism with capitalism. The problem will only be different--not because the great powers come to some kind of agreement--but only if the structure of society in the FRG should change and then the claim is made that two socialist Germanys unite! But that is a question of the future; it does not pay to talk about it.

I should like to remind you that our party's name is 'Socialist Unity Party of Germany.' And the central press organ of our party is called NEUES DEUTSCHLAND. Thus we start with the existence of two Germanys: a socialist Germany, the 'German Democratic Republic,' and a capitalist Germany, the 'Federal Republic of Germany.' It is quite natural that in this context certain questions of common history surface--there are common roots, after all, and they can be very far reaching.

At the moment the situation is that, through coming to terms with history and on the occasions of certain commemorative days, the GDR naturally performs increasingly as the guardian of German culture and history."<sup>3</sup>

---

3 "Die unruhigen Deutschen", TV broadcast of the ORF, 1st program, of 8 March 1984

One does not have to be able to read between the lines in order to grasp in its full significance the dialectic moment of the new "Piedmont" phase of the SED's policy on Germany in these statements. From this position, two things are possible at any time: a defensive "nationalization" of the GDR for an extended phase of waiting and marking time, or an offensive stance and forward strategy of the GDR for the desired solution of the German question.

To speak in military terms, East Berlin has gone from the withdrawal of the seventies into a trench position in the policy on Germany, from which both attack and defense are equally possible. Within this context belong also the "nationalist" statements by Politburo members Stoph and Axen who attacked Bonn early in September 1984 for its "policy of division" in the year 1949. Axen accused "big German capital" of having "unscrupulously betrayed the nation" and GDR minister president Stoph spoke accusingly of Bonn's "national betrayal" and stated: "On 7 September 1949, a West German separate state was constituted, sealing the betrayal of the nation..."<sup>5</sup> Since Ulbricht's time, about 15 years, there have been no such official GDR formulations on the German question. The SED leadership solidifies purposefully the "dialectics" of its new Piedmont line regarding policy on Germany. It makes great efforts to be able to cope in every respect with coming developments on the national question.

A review of 35 years of policy on Germany of the other German state may be confusing and discouraging to the unbiased reader. The twists, the contradictions, the change of words and terms were too blatant; that which was hidden and camouflaged shone too glaringly through the propaganda curtain of the GDR leadership. And yet it is not difficult to discover one political constant which remained always the same over three and a half decades: No matter what the GDR tried (and, incidentally, the FRG, too)--it could not rid itself of Germany.

9917

CSO: 2300/232

---

4 Einheit, issue 9/10-1984, p 826.

5 Einheit, issue 9/10-1984, p 780.

HUNGARY

ESTABLISHMENT OF HUNGARIAN PEOPLE'S ARMY DESCRIBED

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 19 Jan 85 p 7

[Interview with Colonel General Istvan Olah, Minister of Defense, by Laszlo Szabo: "How Was the Hungarian People's Army Born?"; time and place of interview not specified]

[Text] One of the important stages in the birth of our new statehood was the establishment of the new democratic people's army 40 years ago. One of the documents concerning it is the recruitment appeal which the Provisional National Government issued 19 January 1945 and which summoned into the ranks of the new army every democratic and patriotic young man and woman who by force of arms undertook the struggle against Fascist Germany, who was prepared to wash away with his or her blood the shame which had befallen the country and to extenuate the crime which the rulers of Horthy Hungary on the side of the Hitlerites had committed against the better side of humanity and the Hungarian fatherland. In those days 40 years ago Colonel General Istvan Olah, Minister of Defense, voluntarily became a soldier. We talked with him about the birth of the new army.

[Question] Let us begin with the circumstances of the issuance of the recruitment appeal, which may be interesting to succeeding generations if only because in those days the country's capital and the entire Transdanubia were still in the hands of the Fascist Arrow Cross followers.

[Answer] The idea for establishing a democratic people's army had already emerged at the first session of the Provisional National Government. When, in fact, in mid-October of 1944 the country's withdrawal from the war ended in failure due to the narrow-minded and contradictory conduct of the Horthy cabinet, it finally became clear to the leftwing patriotic social forces that they had to break away from the old order in every respect and that the country's fate must be laid on new foundations. Fitting into this notion was the organization of a democratic Hungarian army which was ready to participate alongside the liberating Soviet troops in the struggle against the Fascist occupiers and their Hungarian accomplices and in the conquest of Hitler Germany. Nowhere in the world does permanent and independent statehood exist without one's own army. Yet all this came to fruition when the Provisional National Assembly, which

gathered in Debrecen just before Christmas of 1944, not only broke with the German alliance made by the rulers of Horthy Hungary but also--on the basis of a unanimous resolution--declared war on Fascist Germany. The decision was thereby made at the same time to begin to organize a new Hungarian democratic people's army.

It was decided that the army's first troops would be brought into existence not through conscription but from voluntary applicants; in short, its members--I emphasize--could only be volunteers. This decision had a very important political meaning, because it was based on the sincere patriotic feelings of the population. Thus the majority of those who entered the ranks of the new army took up arms out of conviction. And although the Provisional National Government agreed to the text of the recruitment appeal as early as 23 December 1944, it was able to sanction it only on 19 January 1945. A stipulation of international law was still needed, namely, to initiate organization of an army and to issue a recruitment appeal, and this was created on 20 January by an armistice agreement signed in Moscow.

At this moment in Debrecen, which had become our homeland's provisional capital for the second time in the country's history, the government's recruitment appeal was made public. It called upon as many of the country's people as possible, not only the men but also the women, to volunteer for the new democratic Hungarian people's army. Before long, the appeal--to which the newspapers of the leftwing parties also contributed with soul-stirring encouragement--reached the population of the entire liberated section of the country.

"...Establishment of the New Army Was, Above All, in the Interest of the Hungarian People."

[Question] What was the importance of the recruitment appeal from the nation's viewpoint?

[Answer] A whole series of examples from our history bears witness to the fact that the Hungarian people have always been supporters of freedom and human progress. Conversely, the country's rulers have often--despite the people's will and interests--pursued their stratagems, oppressed and sacrificed our best sons and daughters. As early as the start of World War II, the best of the Hungarian people announced that the treasonous policy of Horthy Fascism and the ruling classes had embroiled the country in this war despite the interests of the Hungarian people. Later, the number continued to grow of those who did not intend to be senselessly destroyed together with a system treasonous to the people in a genocidal war and who did not intend to entomb themselves in the ruins of Fascism. They therefore strove to take an active part in the righteous struggle for the triumph of national and social progress. More and more of them incurred danger, imprisonment, torture, the gallows; they confronted the criminal and antinational policy. At the time of the recruitment announcement, thousands of working persons volunteered immediately, and through military service and assumption of the armed struggle against Hitler Germany they conveyed to the general public of the world that the people of Hungary were not identical with the rulers of the vanishing Horthyite and Arrow Cross system.

[Question] The political writers of some emigre newspapers claim that establishment of the new Hungarian people's army was imposed by the Allies, especially the Soviets, on a country already exhausted from the war. What is your opinion of this?

[Answer] I myself was a volunteer. I remember that the very thing which captivated us in the recruitment appeal was that now we would be able to show the world that these people were not Fascists. The representatives of the Hungarian power system, which arose on broad democratic social foundations, were then much more aware than I was, of course, that the establishment of a new Hungarian army was in the interest, not of the Soviet Union, not of the Allied powers, but above all of the Hungarian people. Because even though the war was still in full swing, there was no doubt at all about its outcome. Alongside the enormous military forces which came into being in opposition to Fascism, the new Hungarian army taking shape could not otherwise become a significant military factor. To sum up: not power relations in the continued development of the war but the national interests of the Hungarian people made it necessary to create a new democratic anti-Fascist Hungarian army.

Creation of the new army and its linkup--on the side of the Allied powers--to the armed struggle against Fascism contributed effectively to the establishment of our country's postwar international position. Creation of such a voluntary army was also the Hungarian working masses' confession of faith in democracy and social evolution, and its domestic significance is thus inestimable.

"...Twenty-one Thousand Volunteered from the Miskolc Military District."

[Question] Today one thinks that the people hardly expected the end of the war, that they would be liberated from the sufferings and dangers of armed combat. Did the appeal of the Provisional National Government find a serious response in the population at large, or did only a few hundred communists again accept the danger?

[Answer] The people of the country were really exhausted during this period. After all, they had already suffered the fourth year of World War II together with all its burdens and consequences. In the sphere of the working social classes there was scarcely a family from which--or from its narrower surroundings--one or several men qualified for military service were not absent. Wartime conscription hit the agrarian proletariat east of the river Tisza especially hard. A lot of data indicates that the rulers of the old order sent to a war-time death those whom they had to fear at home.

In short, the war depleted beyond measure the country's economy and population; it hit the working classes particularly hard. To top it all off, the front had previously run through the liberated sections of the country, and even for the younger generations it is not necessary to describe in detail the sufferings accompanying it.

Despite this, not only the former partisans or the communists fighting heroically in the underground but also many others, tens of thousands of worker and peasant youths, soldiers and officers who had completed anti-Fascist schooling and returned home from the Soviet Union volunteered for the new army. According to

authentic records, more than 10,000 from Heves megye, for example, and altogether 21,000 from the Miskolc military district answered the call. Precise accounts of other places have not survived, but in any event it can be stated that the number of volunteers far surpassed the total strength of those troops which eventually found their way to the front. In order to find a way to demonstrate their patriotic feelings, the working classes' sons and daughters--tormented by war, oppressed by the rulers, exhausted economically to the utmost degree--undertook in great numbers the armed struggle against Fascism. And what is particularly important, the majority of the soldiers in the new army were adherents of radical change, not just in the military respect but also with regard to the country's social arrangements.

[Question] It appears from the list you mentioned that the new army consisted chiefly of ex-servicemen.

[Answer] Roughly half the volunteers from the ranks of the middle-class citizenry were ex-servicemen. But first it was necessary to train a great many volunteers how to handle weapons. It is a fact that many more volunteered than finally became members of the new army. The elderly and those with large families were therefore sent home. Today military historians still preserve the petitions and applications which volunteers sent to the defense minister and the various authorities at that time because they did not find the formation of troops and preparation for the front fast and effective enough.

"It Became a Kind of Movement Which Embraced the Whole Population, Without All Sorts of Personal Canvassing."

[Question] No doubt there were also those who in this way wanted to be released from captivity.

[Answer] Probably. But it must not be forgotten that at this time it was still uncertain when the war would end, the front lines were still far from Germany's borders, and the military experts judged that the Fascist German military forces would put up substantially greater resistance at their own country's borders and so the war could still drag on for a long time.

I am convinced--it is fresh in my personal memories--that the overwhelming majority volunteered because, despite all the deceptive activity of the bygone system, they believed that with the liberation a better world would follow for them.

[Question] You might have been 17-18 years old at that time. What sort of memories do you have of those days, of recruitment, of military service?

[Answer] In my native village, Nadudvar, I was one of more than 200 youths who wanted to bring nearer the total defeat of Fascism, the liberation of the country and peace. Hungary is reflected, like a drop in the ocean, in what happened then in our village: chiefly the mood, the resolve, the purposefulness of the liberated section of the country.

In this large agrarian proletariat community, which changed hands twice during armed combat, naturally the poorest, the unskilled workers and the day laborers in particular answered the call of the Provisional Government, which was traditionally announced in public, then made known at a mass meeting. But many children of tradesmen, smallholder youths and students also volunteered. It became a kind of movement which embraced the whole population, without all sorts of personal canvassing. This very precious readiness to act--today it can be understood more easily--manifested itself sincerely, simply, naturally. And after volunteering we waited more and more impatiently for the actual callup. On a celebrated day, 15 March, we were able to join the army. The main street was crowded with wagons, we departed on them without music and followers, yet with so much the greater internal warmth, with dauntlessness in the strictest sense of the word. It deserves to be mentioned separately that more than 50 girls and young women undertook the unknown, and this had a very great effect on us, the boys.

It is part of the truth that although I personally--due to my family position and under the influence of my mother and father--understood and knew about the world as early as 18 years of age, only later did I recognize the real significance of what was then beginning.

[Question] Where was the first outfit established?

[Answer] The first outfits of the people's army-to-be, like the Buda Voluntary Regiment and the railway-constructing division, were created in association with the Soviet army and became participants in the battles of liberation. After the appeal by the Provisional National Assembly, first--understandably--the defense ministry had to be organized, which, of course, must not be imagined on the basis of today's dimensions. The ministry consisted of a few rooms in the Debrecen financial mansion, of the most indispensable furnishings and, alongside the minister, of a dozen professional soldiers of various ranks. Here began the shaping of plans and ideas, even before the signing of the armistice agreement. It was possible to create the outfits only after issuance of the recruitment appeal. At first there was no place to put the volunteers. The material, indeed the technical conditions for equipping them were lacking. There were no uniforms for them. Many even went to the front with only a tricolored armband provided with a seal on their civilian clothes.

The first armed military outfit created by the Provisional Government was the Sixth Guard Battalion, whose effective force consisted of Hungarian partisans, 734 altogether, who had returned home from the Soviet Union. They took over from the Soviet soldiers in Debrecen the protection of the headquarters of the ministries and other leading agencies. After this, two divisions came into being, the Sixth in Debrecen and the Budapest First in Jaszbereny, and after brief training they were able to depart for the front after a few weeks. The organization of additional divisions continued, but those were abolished at the conclusion of the war.

The political commissar institution filled a decisive role in the more and more pronounced formation of the new nascent army's popular and democratic physiognomy. Receiving a place in it were the soldiers who--they had finished partisan



training, they were more or less experienced, they had previously taken part in the labor and progressive social movements--with great enthusiasm and good political sense and primarily through the creation of excellent human contacts kept their eyes on every category of personnel, especially the rank-and-file soldiers, and on every important event. Their authority and their influence were indisputable, so much so that it had an effect on this: what can the army be used for, and in what direction can its political character develop? All this, of course, took place with the open and unequivocal support of the soldier masses.

"Progress in Recent Decades Is Striking."

[Question] What was the Hungarian Communist Party's role in the creation of the popular armed forces?

[Answer] The Hungarian Communist Party saw in the creation of the new democratic army an important condition for the achievement of its earlier goals and stand-points and therefore made use of every opportunity to support it. The party continued its extensive propaganda and organizational work for the success of recruitment in the liberated parts of the country. It sent masses of cadres experienced in armed combat into the army. It provided very valuable assistance in the effective forces' political enlightenment and instruction work, in the activity of political commissars with little experience, and in the establishment of a new type of relationship between the army and the general population.

Will and resolution are not enough, of course, for the creation of an army. Providing it with equipment, weapons, material and technical supplies taxes the financial powers of even a country with a stable economy. Without the inestimable support of the Soviet army it would not have been possible to fulfill this task. The Soviet army took upon itself the major part of arms, equipment and clothing, the entire supply of food at the front and the replacement of missing tools.

[Question] What is the relation between the new democratic people's army and the socialist people's army of today?

[Answer] Organization of the new democratic army, which came into being during the period of our country's liberation, meant the beginning of the Hungarian people's army. This was the foundation for our socialist-type people's army which develops at the same time with the complete victory of the people's power. In other words, the current socialist physiognomy of the Hungarian people's army took shape in close unity with the socialist character of state power and the entire society. Placing at our disposal the necessary armaments, equipment, technical literature and regulations which had stood the test of the trials of war, the Soviet army offered unselfish help toward the development of the people's army. It conveyed to our people's army the rich operational and tactical experiences it had obtained on the battlefields in the Great Patriotic War. With the goal of offering help in practical organizational work and in the training of personnel, it sent its most prepared and most battle-hardened generals and commissioned officers to us as military advisers. And thousands of our officers

were trained in the Soviet Union's military education institutes and academies; they then saw and see service in important assignments in our people's army.

Institutes and troops, weapons and military forces equipped with modern technology and based on modern organizational principles have been created for our people's army in the last 4 decades. Military leaders have been trained who are ready and able to meet the various high and upwardly revised demands which nowadays devolve on them in the management of the army.

The progress in recent decades is striking. The scientifically established defense policy of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party proceeds from Lenin's teaching that it is not enough to fight the revolution; it must also be defended. As long as imperialism exists, as long as the danger of aggressive war lasts, the defense capability must be maintained at such a level that we are able, together with our comrades-in-arms, to safeguard the peace.

"...in the Service of the Socialist Homeland."

Today our people's army is the equal and worthy comrade-in-arms of the Soviet people's army, and our defense organization is the equal of all the people's armies of the member countries of the Warsaw Pact created 30 years ago. The organizational, managerial as well as rigorous moral and political conditions for extensive and effective cooperation have taken shape with the Soviet brothers-in-arms and the other allied armies in the 4 decades which have elapsed since the liberation.

The most magnificent and--from the social and economic viewpoint alike--most dynamic period in our people's thousand-year history has been the 40 years which have elapsed since the liberation. This period is also 4 decades of the evolution and stabilization of new statehood and the growth and modernization of military forces which safeguard the security and independence of our socialist society and country.

Many of those who, either as common soldiers or officers and political commissars, were there at the birth of our people's army 40 years ago are even today active workers in socialist Hungary. Quite a few have already served in the people's army for 4 decades while others, as pensioners, take an active part in public life.

What they did then they also consider their natural duty today. They do not look at themselves as heroes. They simply acted according to their hearts and convictions, as did the overwhelming majority of them in 1956 and since then in the service of a new socialist homeland. They can proclaim with a good heart that their lives had and have a meaning, their dreams have come true. Our people place a high value on everything which they have done, as genuine patriots, to faithfully serve our national and international interests.

[Question] We thank you for the conversation.

12327

CSO: 2500/174

HUNGARY

JUSTIFICATION, EXPLANATION OF PRICE INCREASES

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 19 Jan 85 pp 4-5

[Unsigned editorial: "It Affects Us All"]

[Text] It is certain that these days there is more talk about money everywhere than at other times. We study the communique about the price increase and calculate to what extent the increases will upset the accustomed order of our family budget. And we do this with no small anxiety, for the burden of the increasing cost of living is oppressive even if we counted on it, knowing the national economic plans, even if we know and understand that an economic necessity that is difficult to avoid is behind the announcement of the price increases.

As a result of our efforts over several years, economic development may pick up somewhat in 1985, according to our plans national income will grow more quickly than last year. And even though repaying our debts and interest will tie up a part of the increment, we can also plan to increase domestic use. In contrast to earlier years we may reach the point where investments will not decrease, the decrease in real wages will be stopped and consumption by the population may increase by 1-1.5 percent.

In theory this 1-1.5 percent expansion or a balance of buying power and available goods adjusted to it could be created with various types of price or wage increases. Excessively great price and wage increases might magnify inflation, small increases might not encourage an increase in performance or the creation of the necessary commodities. This year's economic plan prescribes an increase in wages averaging 7.7.5 percent--with attention to the earnings regulation aimed at greater, differentiated recognition of extra performance. And this involves a 7 percent price increase--aimed at maintaining the level of the buying power of wages and at an increase in real incomes and taking into consideration the requirement of a balance between buying power and available goods.

The price measures taken during the year will account for 0.5 percent of the planned price increase. The plan includes a 3.5 percent increase for the year in the area of free price products. Central price measures as a whole will increase the price level by 3 percent. The increase in the price of press products has "taken" 0.2 percent of the latter 3 percent already. The effect of the present measures will total 2.6 percent.

These measures--in harmony with the general basic principles of our price policy--affect primarily those products for which state support is very great. In a few cases reducing deficits or increasing producer prices justify the price increase.

Naturally it is not a goal of price policy to completely eliminate state support. For a long time the budget will offer substantial support in the area of products where this is justified for social policy reasons, but even this cannot be unlimited. For example, the receipts thus far in the area of passenger transportation have not covered even a quarter of the expenditures and milk has been among the products requiring the greatest consumer price supplement. Even now the subsidy is only being moderated. We should also mention household energy and fuel prices. In addition, in the case of the latter, the difficulties of acquisition are now causing no small problems for the country and for the population.

In a few cases the increase in prices will reduce deficits. Today profit from the telephone covers the deficit for traditional postal services. As a result there has not been enough money for developing the telephone network.

The price increases affect many types of products, the entire area of the central price increases planned for 1985, according to our intentions. As the figures show, the effect of the measures will raise the consumer price level by 2.8 percent--so the plan still permits a central price increase amounting to 0.2 percent. Whether this will actually take place depends on whether there will be sufficient performance cover behind the wage increases, thus whether there will be an outflow of wages which is not covered, and whether the management of the enterprises really improves.

The social policy measures published at the same time as the price increases are intended to alleviate the effect of the price increases in a certain area of the population. For example, raising the minimum pension limit, under 3,000 forints, and increasing the family supplement and child care aid and extending the latter to a broader group than before are intended to ease the situation of those with low pensions and large families. These measures will not entirely compensate for the increase in the cost of living but they will ease the problems somewhat. And they indicate the intention of the government to reduce the burdens of the needy especially, in measure with our economic possibilities.

Recently the enterprise and large farm collectives have debated the price increases and the social policy measures within a broad range. The measures have not come unexpectedly, particularly since their essence was announced at the December session of the National Assembly. But still they heard of price increases with an understandably bitter taste in the mouth. For example, in Nagykanizsa, at the Petroleum and Natural Gas Mining Enterprise, they said that the price increase would make the situation difficult above all for those living from wages and salaries, those with large families, pensioners and people with low incomes, although the social policy measures will ease the problems of the latter somewhat. Here and in other places too it has been said that there is a need for more rational, more thrifty enterprise management, so

that the increase in prices could be moderated. Attention was called to the same thing at the Lang Machine Factory and at Videoton, although they emphasized the need for more consistent state and social checking. The workers of the Pankota State Farm felt that they must do everything to increase performance so that an increase in earnings might moderate or counterbalance the effect of the price increases.

This last observation might be adopted as an action program. For prices affect all of us not only in their effects, through our pocketbooks, but also in that the development of prices depends on our economic conditions. That is, on the effectiveness of our work.

8984

CSO: 2500/179

POLAND

PUBLISHED INTERVIEW WITH POPIELUSZKO STIRS CONTROVERSY

Catholic Weekly Presents Interview

Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish No 46, 11 Nov 84 p 13

[Text] Life must be lived with dignity, because there is only one life. We must say much about dignity today in order to understand that man surpasses everything that can exist on earth except God; he surpasses the wisdom of the entire earth. To preserve dignity in order to increase good and overcome evil, (...)

To preserve dignity in order to increase good and overcome evil is to be guided in life by a sense of justice. Justice flows from truth and love. The more truth and love there is in a man, the more justice there is as well. Justice must go hand in hand with love, for without love one cannot be totally just. Where love and goodness are lacking, hatred and violence come to take their place, and if one is guided by hatred and violence, one cannot speak of justice.

To overcome evil with goodness is to remain faithful to truth. Truth is a very fragile possession of our reason. It was God himself who planted the will for truth in man; that is why man has a natural striving for truth and an aversion to falsehood. True, like justice it is linked to love, and love has a price. True love is self-sacrificing; therefore truth too must have a price. Truth always unites people and brings them together.

In order to overcome evil with good, one must care about the virtue of courage. The virtue of courage is the overcoming of human weakness, especially fear and dread. A Christian must remember that he should only be afraid of betraying Christ for a couple silver pieces of sterile peace. To merely condemn evil, falsehood, cowardice, coercion, hatred and violence cannot suffice for the Christian; rather he himself must be a true witness, advocate, and defender of justice, goodness, truth, freedom, and love. He must boldly claim these values for himself and for others. (Excerpts from devotional meditations, 19 October 1984, Bydgoszcz.)

\* \* \*

It is very important for me as a priest not to allow myself to get drawn into politics, for this is not my mission. That I am not politically involved is attested to by actual cases, many such cases of conversion. After many years, often after 40 or 50, people gather the courage to come to me and ask for reconciliation with God and to receive the Holy Eucharist. This is a great moment for me as a priest and for these people as well. They did not dare go to anyone. Of course, this is not the only way. Very often the process of conversion, the return to God or discovering God at all begins with an authentic patriotic attitude. God can choose various paths to conversion. A young student comes who says that the first time he went to Mass he felt as if he were in a theater. The second time he felt some kind of communion with people who felt the same as he did. After the third encounter in church, with that crowd of people, he runs to me on the morning of the next day, throws himself around my neck and says, please Father, I prayed the whole night, I who never prayed in my life, I sat at the table, rested my head against my hands, I prayed the whole night, something happened to me. And in 2 months he comes and tells me that he had been to confession and Holy Communion at Jasna Gora; it was as if he had been born anew. These are cases which can be multiplied. I receive a great number of letters (...) And this is probably a kind of reward for a priest, who does not have a life of his own, does not have time of his own, and at the same time it is proof that this is priestly work. I have baptized many adult individuals. Not long ago I baptized a student who had come to me 2 years after the strike at the Medical Academy and said that then (...) he envied us that we were believers, that we came together at Holy Mass and had something to hold onto, some kind of hope, but he felt only an emptiness then, and this mobilized him to contemplation and to search; I have never met a person so well prepared for baptism, for accepting the faith.

I am convinced that what I am doing is right. And that is why I am ready for anything. (Excerpt from an interview with Father Popieluszko by a British journalist at the end of September of this year).

#### Source of Interview Sought

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 15-16 Dec 84 p 4

[Text] On 13 December, EXPRESS WIECZORNY published a text entitled "At the Source," which we are re-printing in its entirety.

In its 11 November (No 4) issue this year, TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY published an excerpt of an interview given, as the editors wrote, in September by Father Popieluszko to a British journalist. TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY does not disclose, however, the title and the number of the periodical in which the interview was published, nor the name of the journalist

who conducted the interview. It is generally accepted practice in the press to give the source of quoted interviews. Why does TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY depart from this practice?

To tell the truth, the interview with Father Popieluszko cannot be found either in any of the British papers or in their news wire services. An excerpt almost identical to the one in TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY can be found, however, in the columns of the emigre Polish-language periodical PULS, published in London. Father Popieluszko's statement in PULS (No 20, winter 1983-84), however, dates back to over a year ago and mainly concerns the situation in Poland after the lifting of martial law.

The excerpts of both statements read respectively as follows:

TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY: "It is very important for me as a priest not to allow myself to get drawn into politics, for this is not my mission. That I am not politically involved is attested to by actual cases, many such cases of conversion. After many years, often after 40 or 50, people gather the courage to come to me and ask for reconciliation with God and to receive the Holy Eucharist. This is a great moment for me as a priest and for these people as well. They did not dare go to anyone. Of course, this is not the only way. Very often the process of conversion, the return to God or discovering God at all begins with an authentic patriotic attitude. God can choose various paths to conversion. (...) I receive a great number of letters. (...) And this is probably a kind of reward for a priest, who does not have a life of his own, does not have time of his own, and at the same time it is proof that this is priestly work. (...) I am convinced that what I am doing is right. And that is why I am ready for anything."

PULS: "I speak when I realize that I am stating a truth that should be known to people. Speaking the truth in church in this way causes people to develop trust in me. I say what they think and feel. Many conversions attest to how necessary this is. After many years, often after dozens of years, people have gathered the courage to come to me and ask for reconciliation with God, for confession and Holy Communion. This is a great moment for me as a priest as well as for these people. They would not venture to go to someone else. Very often the process of conversion and return to God and the church or discovering God at all begins with the adoption of a patriotic attitude. After all, God can choose various paths to conversion. I receive many, many letters (...) This is great reward for a priest, who does not actually have a life of his own (...) I am convinced that what I am doing is right. And that is why I am ready for anything."

The differences between the texts are in fact editorial in character. Except for one, a fairly essential one. While in TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY the absence of political involvement is expounded as is the ministerial character of the priest's activity, in PULS, conversely, political elements are numerous throughout the whole interview.



Why was TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY embarrassed to disclose its source? Probably because the periodical that should have been cited specializes in anti-Polish attacks and mainly satisfies the tastes of the most reactionary-minded emigre circles. And probably also because the concluding words in the excerpt of the interview published in TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, "I am ready for anything," date back to a year ago and were made in another context. Exploiting them in the way they were has very little in common with journalistic integrity.

Similarly discreet when it comes to its source is STERN, the West German weekly with a global circulation of many million, which published the "Testament of a Deceased Clergyman" in one of its last issues. This was an interview allegedly given by Father Popieluszko a year ago to a representative of this magazine on the condition that it would be published only "if something should happen to him." This interview also ends with the words "I serve my nation and I am certain that I serve justly. And that is why I am prepared for the worst."

Apart from the differences that arise through translation and the customary form of question and answer, the content of the statement in STERN is almost identical with that in the columns of PULS and TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY. This Hamburg magazine specializes in putting together supersensations, anyway. In its day, after all, the enormous fraud of Hitler's fake memoirs was invented in its columns.

And so we have three almost identical texts, two of which cite a source that cannot be identified. Is this an accident?

There is yet a fourth text. A statement by Father Popieluszko was also quoted in the columns of the French LE MATIN. The source is given here, however, and even the name of the translator.

It was not we who thought up the principle "Take lessons, even if from the devil at least." Gentlemen of TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY: take lessons, even if from LE MATIN at least.

12635

CSO: 2600/486

POLAND

## CONTROVERSY ERUPTS OVER MARXISM, RELIGION

### Marxist-Christian Incompatibility

Warsaw LAD in Polish No 45, 11 Nov 84 p 5

[Article by Andrzej Kowzan: "Aspects of Liberation Theology"]

[Text] The "Instruction on Certain Aspects of the Theology of Liberation" that was issued by the Vatican's Sacred Congregation of the Doctrine of the Faith on 9 September 1984 already has created a kind of sensation. Commentaries, discussions, interviews and polemics have appeared in the press. The reactions to the instruction have varied, depending on the reactor's attitude toward Marxist ideology. This type of emotion seems to be odd, especially in our country, where the instruction is not widely known. We are waiting for an official translation from church authorities.

To avoid emotion and unhealthy sensation, one must study the text. Then I believe this sensation will disappear. Then the church's concern about the teachings done in His name will be justified.

The instruction is addressed to pastors, theologians and all the faithful to bring to their attention the deviations and the dangers of deviations that are a threat to the faith and, more broadly, to Christian life. Some forms of liberation theology resort, in a way that is unsatisfactorily critical, to concepts rooted "in various trends of Marxist thought."

The instruction is a general document but sufficiently detailed so that above all the theologians supporting liberation theology in Latin America had to react to it.

The church has always taught that the Gospel of Jesus Christ is a message of freedom and a force for liberation. Lately this basic truth has been the subject of reflection by many theologians and the focus of interests of many people.

The church teaches that above all liberation is in essence liberation from subjugation based on sin. The goal of liberation is to free God's children; it is a gift of God, a grace. But logically, liberation also beckons liberation from the numerous subjugations present in cultural, economic, social and political life.

These subjugations also are rooted mainly in sin and at the same time are a barrier making it impossible for people to live in accordance with their dignity.

The Congregation pointed out that the theologians of liberation do not always strictly demarcate that which is basic from that which is derived, secondary. Of course, such a differentiation is a basic condition for every theological reflection, which applies equally to liberation theology. Certainly, with regard to inhuman situations, one often gives in to the temptation to emphasize liberation from subjugations, from worldly and temporal order, to such a degree that this basic subjugation based on sin loses its primary significance. Such a method of resolving problems in theology is vague and one must even say ambiguous.

The desire to recognize and eliminate the causes of that which oppresses and causes pain leads to the use, without sufficient and critical discretion, of an ideological inspiration that is incompatible with the Christian faith and the ethical requirements based on faith.

The Instruction explains that this reminder should not be interpreted as a censure of those who are sincerely attempting to respond to the needs of the poor in the spirit of the Gospel. On the contrary, with deep faith and determination one must join in love with the struggle to help the exploited, oppressed and persecuted. In the name of justice, freedom, and human dignity, today as never before the Christian condemns abuse, injustice, and limitations of freedom without regard to their nature and who perpetrates them. The church is struggling in its own way to defend human rights.

The desire of people for liberation has become one of the fundamental phenomena of our epoch and is achieving universal dimensions. This phenomenon is especially obvious among the most exploited nations and classes that have experienced mass poverty. This desire is inspired by the awareness of the dignity of man, which has been maltreated and disregarded via numerous cultural, political, racial, social, and economic forms of oppression.

It is the Gospel that revealed to people to become children of God and raised in their hearts the requisites and firm will to live in brotherhood, justice, and peace. It is a life in which everyone will find respect and the conditions for spiritual and material development.

These requisites rest at the basis of liberation theology. Man already has lost patience with passively enduring the inhuman burden of poverty and its consequences: death, sickness, and moral collapse. More or less, this is sensed only as a violation of man's inherent dignity.

The church also says that the scandal of extreme inequalities between the rich and the poor, and between rich and poor nations, and the inequalities between social classes within the same nation can no longer be reconciled.

In its censure of coercion, the church reminds us that the love-thy-neighbor commandment contained in the Old Testament applies to all people and at the same time is the highest principle of social life. There are no exceptions here that would justify denying anyone the designation of "our neighbor."

The comments of the Instruction, which are directed not only to the creators of liberation theology, indicate that one cannot limit the area of sin exclusively to so-called social sin, the initial effect of which would be to bring disorder in relations between man and God. Only authentic teaching on sin can reveal the immensity of its negative social affects. One cannot see evil only, and at times mainly, in evil economic, social or political structures as if all evil is rooted only in these structures, and as if the creation of the so-called new man depends only on the introduction of "new" economic, social, and political structures.

It is true, there are structures that are internally evil and engender evil. And one must find the courage to change them. But human activities are first of all the effects before they become the cause. After all, the root of evil is inherent in humans, who are free and responsible.

The theoretical propositions, whose primary postulate calls for a revolution in social relations and which criticize seeking personal perfection, negate the value of human individuality and its transcendence and the distinction between good and evil.

In responding to the challenge posed by oppression and hunger, in the name of sensitizing Christian conscience, justice, social responsibility, and solidarity with the poor, the church is showing immediate concern and the irrevocability of its teachings and of the revealed commandments.

The Instruction recalls here several of these teachings: the recent papal documents "Mater et Magister," "Pacem in Terris," "Populorum Progressio" and "Evangelii Nuntiandi." And let us not forget the letter of Pope Paul VI to Cardinal Roy: "Octogesima Adveniens." In turn, Vatican Council II discussed the problem of justice and freedom in the pastoral constitution "Gaudium et Spes." Pope John Paul II discussed has this subject many times, especially in the encyclicals "Redemptor Hominis," "Dives in Misericordia," and "Laborem Exercens." The pope's numerous interventions, which remind us of the teaching about human rights, directly concern the questions of liberating humans from the many types of oppression to which man is sacrificed. In this area, the pope's speech before the 26th General Assembly of the United Nations in New York on 2 October 1982 should also be remembered. Earlier that same year, on 28 January, in opening the Conference of Latin American bishops in Puebla, the pope reminded us that the complete truth about man is the basis for true liberation. This text is a fundamental document to which liberation theology should respond directly.

Two times, in 1971 and 1974, the synod of bishops has discussed themes directly concerned with the Christian concept of liberation. The concern here is about the questions of justice and the relation between liberation from oppression and the complete liberation or redemption of man that were considered by the synods.

The synod's work in 1971 and 1974 permitted Pope Paul VI to emphasize in the exhortation "Evangelii Notiandi" the link between evangelization and liberation, or the advancement of man.

The church's concern about liberation and the advancement of man is also manifested in the creation of the papal commission *Iusticia et Pax*. Many of the prelates, in complete agreement with the Holy See, reminded us of the indispensability of the path leading to the authentic liberation of man. In this context, the special documents of the Plenary Conference of the Latin American Episcopate in Medellin in 1968 and in Pueblo in 1979 should be remembered. Paul VI was present at the opening of the Medellin conference, and John Paul II was present at the Pueblo conference. Both popes discussed the subjects of conversion and liberation.

Following Paul VI, who strongly emphasized the specificity of the Gospel's mission, a specificity whose character is divine origin, John Paul II, in his Pueblo speech, reminded us of three basic principles on which all authentic liberation theologies are based: the truth about Jesus, the truth about the church, and the truth about man.

The church does not negate the immense and selfless efforts made by bishops, priests, the religious orders, and the laity who, urged on by the love of their neighbors, are helping to overcome the many forms of poverty. However, one must not be tempted above all to "divide bread," leaving evangelization for later. Some liberation theology proposals suggest that the necessary struggle for justice and freedom, as understood in the economic and political sense, is the essence of the totality of redemption. Such proposals for evangelization lead to measures that are strictly worldly.

Of course, an authentic liberation theology that is rooted in the Word of God properly interpreted does exist. But, to be proper, one should speak of theologies of liberation, because this term encompasses many theological positions and frequently even ideological positions. They often differ among one another to such an extent that they cannot be reconciled.

The Instruction addresses only those theologies of liberation that attempt to accomplish an innovative interpretation of the content of faith and the factual existence of Christianity, and an uncritical interpretation with ideas borrowed from Marxist ideology and a biblical interpretation of tainted rationalism.

The reasoning of the creators of such a liberation theology is as follows: The intolerable situation and imminent explosion require effective action without delay. The effective action assumes that a scientific analysis

of the structural causes of poverty has been made previously. However, the tools for this kind of analysis have been developed by Marxism. Thus, it is sufficient to apply them to a situation like the one found in Latin America.

Such precipitate action overlooks one very important initial condition, that is, all borrowed methods for investigating reality should be preceded by a critical investigation. The theologians of liberation actually neglect this kind of critical investigation. It should also be remembered that borrowing methods without assuming an ideology is not possible. In accepting a method, one also is forced to accept the ideology. It is not difficult to show that ideological aspects are dominant in theologies of liberation that have accepted Marxist tools.

Paul VI emphasized the danger to those who undertake various theological questions that make use of Marxism: "It is a delusion and dangerous not to consider the internal ties that link reflection with action in Marxism."

Certain formulations present in the theologies of liberation are not neutral; instead, they maintain their original Marxist meaning, for example, the so-called class struggle.

The authors of the Instruction show that even though the creators of liberation theology declare that they make use of only some elements of Marxist analysis, an analysis that they reject as a whole, they cause considerable confusion in the minds of their audiences.

Many prelates already have responded to the Congregation's Instruction. In a pastoral letter on liberation theology, the Portuguese bishops address certain dangers that are contained in this reflection. At the same time, they urge that the Instruction be read to become better acquainted with the social teachings of the church.

The Swiss bishops also expressed their support of the Instruction. "The Swiss bishops support activities on behalf of the poor, and in this regard liberation theology is a sign of hope for the poor of the world. However, the text of the Instruction properly presents the danger of a Marxist interpretation of the Redemption and of reducing the Redemption simply to social and economic dimensions of liberation."

On 4 September John Paul II received the Peruvian bishops "ad limen apostolorum" at the Vatican. The pope reminded the bishops that they should be on guard to see that "theology maintains its own methodology" based on a sound interpretation of the Bible, which must not be replaced by solutions based on human knowledge. John Paul II spoke about "the tragedy of people in the cities and rural areas whose very existence is threatened, who are overwhelmed with poverty, hunger, sickness, and unemployment." He also indicated that "situations created by systems drawing inspiration from the principle of pure economic benefit to obtain greater privileges are increasingly intolerable." At the same time he warned against the "ideological option leading to the path of class struggle and force."

In association with the Instruction, John Paul's speech to the CELAM bishops gathered in Santo Domingo on 12 October was eagerly awaited. The pope reminded the bishops that they bear the responsibility for guarding the church's homogeneity. "There is no doubt that the church must contribute its share to the social liberation of the poor. This important and urgent task, however, must be realized in accordance with the Gospel. The Gospel prohibits methods of hate and force.(...)This important task should be realized in a way that does not treat the poor as a class, as a struggling class disobedient to the shepherds designated by Christ, separate from the community as a whole."

Materialism considers Christian hope to be a radical alienation of man, stating outright that it dissuades man from the duty to transform the world, a duty that hangs heavy on man as the most highly organized consciousness in the world. This statement is not too precise because man, by virtue of his corporal-spiritual nature, is predisposed to shaping and transforming the world.

For a Christian this is not only an obvious truth of the intellect but a truth of faith as well that was manifested when man was created in the likeness and image of God, so that man would rule over the world. Therefore, if faith in the future implied escape from the duty to transform material reality, it would place man at variance with his incontrovertible right and calling to faith.

Jesus was not a political revolutionary in either word or deed, nor was He an advocate of class struggle. All interpretations of His person and His message to this end stand in obvious contradiction to historical data and deform Christianity in a fundamental way.

It is true that Jesus, in His life and in His message and in His requirements of people, represents to the faithful a unique event, a revolutionary event that is the most decisive and extensive in history. His mission, focusing on the man-God relation, is of a highly religious nature. Christ's message is directed to that which represents the very core of our sense of responsibility toward God and a more sincere and more effective love of neighbor. The extensive transformation of our inner selves and the need to become involved in the internal liberation from sin converge here. Here, sin is understood as self-will vis-a-vis God and egoism vis-a-vis people.

The Christian approach to man's practical liberation should avoid all vagueness in the very concept of liberation, differentiating and multitude of forms that result from the many concepts of man.

Marxists believe that man is the conscious pinnacle of material evolution, destined to transform the world and to achieve the complete harmony in the world of man with himself, with others, and with nature that will be subject to him. It calls for the leads the class struggle as an indispensable means for the economic liberation of the masses of workers and peasants to achieve equality of rights and obligations for all together

and for each one individually in a new society. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the means to achieve this goal, which is identified with a single class and a planned state.

Christianity proposes a radically different way to liberate man. According to Christianity, the highest reality and highest worth for man is God, who presented Himself to man in Christ. The ultimate sense of man's life and human history is embodied in God.

Christian salvation is an indivisible grace of God and the free response of man. Thus, it manifests itself above all in man's relation to God and at the same time encompasses all dimensions of human existence. The complete and profound salvation of man is its specific characteristic because it spans his deepest layers: the awareness of one's own sins and own death. For man, Christ became a manifestation of God's forgiveness and the promise of resurrection.

Christian hope is not blind to the terrible reality of evil and pain in the world in all its forms, nor to the terrible sins of injustice. On the contrary, the church sympathizes with those who suffer oppression and live in a hopeless situation. The hope of God's coming kingdom and justice is in radical opposition to current injustice and is a call to struggle so that God's justice may triumph in our world and that man may be liberated completely; it is a power in the patient struggle for the freedom of the oppressed.

In realizing the liberation of man, including in the socioeconomic sphere, there are no ready economic, political, or social answers. Christianity also has its mission to fulfill here and cannot abandon this mission. The church preaches and defends in specific circumstances the dignity of the human individual. The church condemns the structures of oppression and protests against the sin of egoism in its group as well as international dimensions.

#### Polemical Rebuttal

Warsaw ARGUMENTY in Polish No 50, 9 Dec 84 pp 1, 3

[Article by Adam Karpinski: "A Black-and-White Ideologue"]

[Text] Among the many defenders of the "Instruction on Certain Aspects of the Theology of Liberation" issued by the Sacred Congregation of the Doctrine of the Faith we meet A. Kowzan, who in his article "Aspects of Liberation Theology" (LAD No 45) attempts to prove that aspirin is the only medicine for all illnesses. In prescribing this tested medicine, he finds fault with all other medicines, especially one that may harm him in the future. Disregarding the fact that every illness requires its own treatment, Kowzan believes that all suffer the same illness he does. Here we have an example of a philosophy of life that we revealed long ago and that can be expressed as "That which I acknowledge you must also acknowledge, and if you believe differently then woe unto your soul because



you are doomed to eternal damnation." Of course we are not concerned here with Kowzan's views; they are his own business. However, we are considering the problem because Kowzan, in defending the Instruction, attempts to show the nonexistence of that which does exist, that which every citizen of our country observes daily and in which he participates directly. Thus, we show how Kowzan transforms real people into phantoms, into ethereal forms, and, what is most important for us here, we want to expose the goal that Kowzan wishes to achieve using his own peculiar sophist manipulations.

Kowzan repeats the words of the Instruction: "In accepting a method (the Marxist analysis of socionatural reality--A.K.), one is also forced to accept the ideology, and it is (...) an ideological inspiration that is incompatible with the Christian faith and the ethical requirements based on faith." Is this not an example of closing one's eyes and shouting that that which one cannot see does not exist at all? Let us assume that what Kowzan says is true. If in fact the Polish nation accepted the Marxist method (assuming a link between "reflection and action," as stated by Pope Paul VI, whom Kowzan cites), then the Polish nation accepts the Marxist ideology. This is an obvious, simple implication that in turn contradicts reality. Could it be that the church statistic indicating that as of 31 December 1982 Poland is 94.6 percent Catholic is an exaggeration? Or does Kowzan believe that our country's socialist system came about through an "open Sesame" incantation? This indicates that the cited implication with regard to Polish reality is transformed into the following alternative: either the peasants in Poland are Marxists because they implemented agricultural reform or they are not Marxists and did not take the land while the change to socialism took place. The falseness of the alternative also establishes the falseness of the implication preceding it and that which follows, that is, that the fragments of the Instruction cited by Kowzan are also false. Thus, the conclusion is obvious. Kowzan wants to be a Greek sophist; he wants to prove that which is false to be true.

Thus the question arises: What is the purpose of all this? Why did the Sacred Congregation issue the Instruction? Why, in turn, does Kowzan try to prove something that is contrary to that which we experience in reality?

In trying to answer these questions, we must first present some parts of the Instruction. Since we are assuming a critical attitude mainly toward Kowzan's apology, we will make use of his interpretation, even though we do not share his views because it is not an interpretation that is summarily adequate.

Thus, Kowzan writes: "Certain formulations present in the theologies of liberation are not neutral; instead, they maintain their original Marxist meaning, for example, the so-called class struggle." In another place Kowzan states: "Jesus was not a political revolutionary in either word or deed, nor was He an advocate of class struggle. All interpretations of His person and His message to this end stand in obvious contradictions to historical data and deform Christianity in a fundamental way." These

fragments indicate that the advocates of class struggle are straying Christians, disobedient to the biblical tradition as interpreted by the church. In applying this assertion to the already existing social revolutions, one must judge that believing Christians are less Christian because they had the courage to collectivize and to nationalize private production resources, and that they supported the dictatorship of the proletariat. But is it really so in reality? Is taking away the means of production and land, which some Christians appropriated for themselves, at odds with God's command that all people "work the land given them?" Are Christian revolutionaries to be criticized for this fact and forego "eternal bliss?" Then again, how is one to judge all the faithful in Poland and other socialist countries? Does the church want to judge its faithful so, or is the intention of the Instruction different? Of course, its authors are not naive. The fact that the church continues to grow stronger, for example, in our country, despite the so-called atheization of socialist societies, is seen by them as proof of its eternity, and they even admit it. Thus, one can hypothesize that the Instruction and its defense by Kowzan is not based on fear that the church will be weakened and that believers will lose faith. The religiousness of existing socialist societies forces us to seek other reasons for the issuance of the Instruction and Kowzan's eulogy.

Kowzan writes: "It calls for and leads the class struggle as an indispensable means for the economic liberation of the masses of workers and peasants to achieve equality of rights and obligations for all together and for each one individually in a new society. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the means to achieve this goal, which is identified with a single class and a planned state." He writes further: "On the contrary, the church sympathizes with those who suffer oppression and live in a hopeless situation. The hope of God's coming kingdom and justice is in radical opposition to current injustice and is a call to struggle so that God's justice may triumph in our world and that man may be liberated completely; it is a power in the patient struggle for the freedom of the oppressed." These cited fragments indicate that the Marxist proposal for economic, political, and spiritual liberation (Kowzan does not mention the latter, which is embraced by Marxism) is defective, that it is not the "complete liberation of man" because it proposes to introduce the "dictatorship of the proletariat which identifies itself with a single class and a planned state." Kowzan does not like the fact that the proletariat wants to replace the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie with its own worker dictatorship, that is, to change the dictatorship of the minority to a dictatorship of the majority over the minority. This should not be because liberation will not be complete, because the bourgeoisie will lose their power and their wealth of achieved profits and will lose that which does not belong to them. Of course, Kowzan does not write this outright, he only wants the working class to be more Christian than it is. He warns the working class against the so-called wrong way that one can take if one does not take the aspirin proposed by him.

In affirming this, Kowzan wonders why the Instruction caused so much emotion. But can it be otherwise in a country in which the dictatorship of the proletariat is a fact? Is society supposed to accept strictly the advice of their religious leaders, who hide their antipeople interests behind the cloak of the Gospel? Kowzan should answer his own question concerning his surprise.

Kowzan himself should demonstrate that the ideological reflection of Marxism-Leninism "cannot be reconciled with the Christian faith and the ethical requirements based on faith." Ideologues can dispute a name, whether to call something this or that and whether two names can be incompatible or not. Only one thing is important to us: the worker and peasant classes did not wait and are not waiting until Kowzan becomes convinced of what is agreeable. These classes simply went to work and are reshaping the world and its political and economic structures in accordance with their historical mission. In conjunction with this, if they do not care about the bourgeoisie and bygone temporal lords, it is only because they understand the Bible better than its interpreters. But Kowzan repeats: "It is a delusion and dangerous not to consider the internal ties that link reflection with action in Marxism." To Kowzan, action and activity are dangerous ventures; he would rather see workers and peasants devote themselves to contemplation. It can be assumed that Marxism would not be a threat to Kowzan if it did not inspire action. We realize from this that inaction signifies agreement with the status quo. Then Kowzan would be satisfied with the fate of the world, especially his own fate.

Kowzan carefully masks this conclusion. He writes: "Materialism considers Christian hope to be a radical alienation of man, stating outright that it dissuades man from the duty to transform the world (...)." Such a notion of materialism, according to Kowzan, is apparently incompatible with reality because "Man, by virtue of his corporal-spiritual nature, is predisposed to shaping and transforming the world." He states that which is obvious and long ago sanctioned in Marxism. However, Kowzan mends his ways quickly. Further on he defines precisely what "transformation of the world" means to him. Thus, it is to be a transformation "of our inner selves, as well as the need to become involved in the internal liberation from sin." As we know, the concepts of involvement and transformation can mean different ways of action and concern various spheres of man's life. In this entire range of meanings of the indicated concepts, Kowzan selects that which suits him. He states that we are responsible for the evil existing in the world. Thus we, all of us together, must mend our ways and free our "inner selves" from sin. Do not point a finger at this or that exploiter or owner of the land on which you work, look instead at yourself, within your ownself. Such is Kowzan's sense of involvement. In this way the only hope the exploited have is that the owners who are exploiting them will some day begin to put their "inner selves" in order.

Let us dwell a while on another example of Kowzan's sophistry. He writes: "For a Christian this is not only an obvious truth of the intellect but a truth of faith as well that was manifested when man was created

in the likeness and image of God, so that man would rule over the world. Therefore, if faith in the future implied escape from the duty to transform material reality, it would place man at variance with his incontrovertible right and calling to faith." In this cited fragment, the following two phrases play an important role: "this is not only an obvious truth of the intellect," and "but a truth of faith." The cited method of using them suggests to us that a Christian makes use of "the truth of the intellect," although not exclusively, because in addition to this truth the Christian makes use of the "truth of faith." It should be noted that Kowzan cannot deny the fact that today "truth of faith" alone is not sufficient, that Christians must make use of scientific knowledge about social phenomena. Nonetheless, he devalues this statement by placing the accent in such a way that the "truth of the intellect" is shaded by its older sister "truth of faith." Still further, after this sophistic endeavor, the primary subject of Kowzan's harangue is only the "truth of faith." The "truth of the intellect," which was brought in through the front door, is thrown out the kitchen door because it turned out to be unworthy of Kowzan's salon. In this way the illusion that that which is rational also was magnanimously acknowledged remains with the reader. Thus, the old bourgeois appearance of objectivism is maintained.

Why is our sophist doing this? The reason is simple. If he wanted to recognize the presence in his salon of the "reason of the intellect," then he would have to indicate its rightful place, and then he would have to take into account the consequences of its existence. However, he could not tolerate this because this "reason of the intellect" would require answers to many questions, including the basic question: On the path toward the complete liberation of man, is not changing unjust economic and political structures a necessary and initial condition? If so, then should means to make this change effective not be used? In attempting to answer these questions, Kowzan the sophist would have to become Kowzan the realist. He would have to betray his positions, and this would jeopardize his sophist word of honor.

In conclusion, it should be remembered that Kowzan said that dialog between believers and nonbelievers was impossible, that is, between those people who in everyday life ignore ideology to solve common, real problems. Thus, it can be said that in voicing this Kowzan, as an involved ideologue, recognizes only two colors: black and white. But let us be patient. Perhaps in the future he will also recognize other colors in human attitudes, concerns, and methods of resolving these concerns.

11899

CSO: 2600/387

POLAND

RESPONSIBILITIES OF CHURCH ADMINISTRATION, HIERARCHY GIVEN

Warsaw PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI in Polish No 1, 6 Jan 85 p 8

[Article by Rev Grzegorz Kalwarczyk: "The Administrative Structure of the Roman Catholic Church"]

[Text] I. The Structure of the World Church

Dioceses and parishes

The basic elements of the administrative structure of the Roman Catholic Church are dioceses and parishes in which bishops and priests carry out spiritual care. The entire world church is led by the Bishop of Rome, the successor to St Peter the Apostle--the pope, while the leaders of particular dioceses are the ordinary bishops--successors to the apostles. In the new Code of Canon Law they are called diocesan bishops (*episcopus dioecesanus*). In accordance with Canon 381 par 1, the diocesan bishop in the diocese entrusted to him is vested with all the ordinary, individual and direct authority required to maintain a pastoral office, with the exception of those matters which by virtue of law or papal decree are reserved to supreme or other church authority. Ordinary bishops are assisted by auxiliary bishops (*episcopus auxiliaris*). Canon law also foresees the possibility of the nomination of a coadjutant bishop (*episcopus coadiutor*) who is vested with the right of succession. In the event of a vacancy on the bishop's seat, the diocese is governed by a diocesan administrator (*administrator dioecesanus*) who is elected by a council of advisors. Under past law, this administrator was called a chapter vicar because he was chosen by the cathedral chapter. The diocesan administrator during a vacancy should not be confused with the administrator of a permanently established apostolic administrative district. In Poland these are the bishops of Bialystok, Drohiczyn and Lubaczow.

Pastors manage parishes and are assisted by vicars. These are priests appointed by the ordinary bishop to conduct pastoral work in a specific territory or among a specific group of the faithful.

The Apostolic See

The Holy Father, the pope, possesses the supreme, full, direct and general ordinary authority in the church, which he can always exercise unimpeded

(Can 331). This also applies to local churches (Can 333 par 1). Generally, however, in fulfilling his duties he makes use of the assistance of other bishops, who can accomplish this in a number of ways, one of which is the Synod of Bishops (Can 334). The Council of Bishops, along with the pope who is its head, comprise the supreme, absolute authority of the entire church (Can 336). The bishops and pope carry out this authority officially at general councils (Can 337).

On a daily basis the Roman Curia (*Curia Romana*) assists the Holy Father in his duties and obligations and together with the pope is called the Apostolic See (*Apostolica Sedes*) or Holy See (*Sancta Sedes*). The Roman Curia is made up of the Papal Secretariat of State, the Church Council on Public Affairs, and various congregations, tribunals and other offices and institutions (Can 360), usually headed by cardinals. In recent decades there have always been more than a hundred cardinals. They are always appointed by the Holy Father; they represent various continents and regional churches and one of their basic duties is to elect a pope when a vacancy occurs in the chair of Peter. In a variety of ways they also render assistance to the Holy Father in the daily concerns of the world church.

The office assisting the bishop, the diocesan administrator, is the bishop's curia, also called the diocesan curia (*Curia Dioecesis*). The bishop's curia is composed of auxiliary bishops, vicars general, bishop's vicars, the chancellor, notaries and other officials who are involved with the various divisions of pastoral work, Catholic education, administration and the judiciary. The ordinary bishops usually entrust management of judicial matters to the judicial vicar, who according to the old Code of Canon Law was called a principal. The judicial vicar is assisted in his duties by appointed judges, the promotor of justice, marriage advocates and notaries.

#### Regional churches

Equal to the dioceses, if church law does not indicate otherwise, are the territorial prelacy (*praelatura territorialis*), territorial abbey (*abbatia territorialis*), apostolic curacy (*vicariatus apostolicus*), apostolic prefecture (*praefectura apostolica*) and permanently established administrative district (*administratio apostolica stabiliter erecta*). All these units together with the dioceses are often defined by one common concept--the regional church. They can be found in those areas of the globe where it has been impossible to establish a diocese for various reasons.

#### Church provinces

The elements enriching the basic administrative structure of the church are the so-called groups of regional churches (*coetus*) to whom belong church provinces and regions, while to the particular regional churches belong the deaconates and rectorates (*quasiparoechia*), chaplaincies and other ministerial units.

The originators of the new codex define the former metropolis as an "ecclesiastical province" (*provincia ecclesiastica*). This is simply a group of several dioceses headed by a metropolitan.

The office of the metropolitan is always associated with the bishop's seat that has been designated by the pope as the metropolitan see. A bishop named to this seat also receives the position of metropolitan. In turn, the dioceses that is the seat of the metropolis, in contrast to the remaining suffragan dioceses, is called the archdiocese (archbishopric) and its ordinary bishop the archbishop. The metropolitan's symbol of authority is the pallium received from the hands of the pope. Diocesan bishops from dioceses subject to the metropolitan are called suffragans.

Among the basic obligations and powers of the metropolitan one should include convening and chairing the provincial synod, visiting the dioceses and suffragans under him, watching over the preservation of faith and church discipline and, in specific instances, designating a temporary administrator for a diocesan vacancy.

#### Ecclesiastical regions

Neighboring church provinces or metropolitans may combine with each other in still larger groups to form ecclesiastical regions (*regio ecclesiastica*). An example of such groups are the conferences of bishops (*Episcoporum Conferentia*) of particular regions, countries, even continents. By virtue of law itself, these conferences include all diocesan bishops of a specific territory, all those who are rightfully equal to them, then coadjutant bishops, auxiliary bishops and titular bishops whom the Apostolic See or Episcopal Conference has charged with special duties. All conferences of bishops should have their own statutes confirmed by the Holy See. Described in these statutes is the method of election to specific positions, of conducting plenary sessions and appointing various offices and committees. At the head of the Episcopal Conference is the chairman and assisting him the vice chairman, permanent board and secretariat. It should be pointed out here that positions of patriarch and primate are merely honorary titles and in themselves, besides prerogatives of honor and precedence, do not confer any authority to rule in the Latin Church. If the people bearing these titles fulfill particular duties and obligations, it is by virtue of papal privilege or custom sanctioned by the Apostolic See (Can 438). An example could be the position of the primate of Poland. The title of primate, beginning with Mikolaj Traba at the beginning of the 15th century, has been held by every diocesan bishop of the Gniezno Archdiocese. The pope's appointing someone to the archbishop's seat in Gniezno is therefore synonymous with conferring on him the title of primate. The unique, superior position of the primate in the Catholic Church in Poland has its source in the authority of the metropolitan since he directs two metropolises--Gniezno and Warsaw--and in the office of the chairman of the Episcopal Conference of Poland, and above all in the specific, unique powers he receives from the Holy Father. The personal union of the Gniezno and Warsaw dioceses and the rule of law that determines that the chairman of the Polish Episcopal Conference is always the primate of Poland favors this situation.

## Deaconates or local vicarates

Within particular regional churches, especially the dioceses, besides parishes which are permanent, specific communities of the faithful, there are also larger groups called deaconates or local vicarates (*vicariatus foraneus*). They form a union of several parishes. At the head of the deaconate is the regional vicar (*vicarius foraneus*), dean or archpresbyter. He is always appointed for a specific term by the diocesan bishop from among the priests under him. The dean is usually one of the pastors of the parishes located within the deaconate. Among the dean's duties are visiting the parishes of his region, coordinating spiritual work in the deaconate, overseeing the proper performance of the liturgy and services, caring for priests, especially the sick and those experiencing difficulties, organizing meetings of the deaconate and various guidance and educational gatherings.

## Rectorates and chaplaincies

On the lowest rungs of the administrative ladder of regional churches are the various communities of the faithful that for various reasons do not have the rank of parishes. These are rectorates of a territorial and personal nature (*quasiparochia*), various pastoral centers and chaplaincies. While parishes and rectorates are mainly territorial, chaplaincies usually serve specific groups of the faithful. Thus there are chaplaincies in monastic and institutional chapels, hospitals, prisons, social service agencies and particular professional, social and ethnic groups. Priests who manage rectorates, the pastoral centers most closely approximating parishes, are called rectors. But this title is also used by administrators of nonparochial churches in which a general as well as a specific ministry is carried out.

The final office worthy of attention is the parish administrator (*administrator paroecialis*). The diocesan bishop assigns him a parish community where there is no pastor or where he has obstacles to performing his duties. There can be various reasons for this, i.e., a vacancy in the parish, illness, imprisonment, persecution, etc. The parish administrator generally has the same rights and duties as the pastor, although the ordinary bishop may decide otherwise.

Monasteries, orders and the various institutions of religious life, although they have their own organizational structure, are also grafted onto the administrative structure of the whole church, subject in some way either directly to the Holy Father or the diocesan bishop.

## II. The Structure of the Church in Poland

### The Polish Episcopal Conference

The main body that together with the Holy Father heads the Catholic Church in our country is the Polish Episcopal Conference. It has a national character. It is made up of all diocesan bishops and administrators of Polish dioceses and administrative districts. There are 86 bishops in Poland, including two cardinals and five archbishops. At the head of the Polish Episcopal Conference is the primate, since according to statute he always fills the office of



chairman. On the other hand, the vice chairman is elected, as are the members of the presidium and main council and the chairman and members of specific committees, of which there are 20, not including the episcopal educational council. The Polish Episcopal Conference also elects members to the joint committee which, in addition to church representatives, is composed of representatives of the state government. The structure and personal composition of the entire Polish Episcopal Conference is as follows:

#### I. Presidium of the Polish Episcopal Conference

Chairman of the conference: Cardinal Jozef Glemp, primate of Poland; vice chairman of the conference: Cardinal Franciszek Macharski; secretary of the conference: Archbishop Bronislaw Dabrowski.

#### II. Main Council of the Polish Episcopal Conference

Chairman: Cardinal Jozef Glemp, primate of Poland; vice chairman: Cardinal Franciszek Macharski; cardinals and diocesan archbishops: Archbishop Henryk Gulbinowicz, Archbishop Jerzy Stroba.

Four elected diocesan bishops: Bishop Edward Materski, Bishop Alfons Nossol, Bishop Stanislaw Szymek, Bishop Ignacy Tokarczuk. Secretary of the conference: Archbishop Bronislaw Dabrowski.

#### III. Council of Cardinals and Archbishops

1. Cardinal Jozef Glemp---archbishop metropolitan of Gniezno and Warsaw, primate of Poland.
2. Cardinal Franciszek Macharski---archbishop metropolitan of Krakow.
3. Archbishop Henryk Gulbinowicz---archbishop metropolitan of Wroclaw.
4. Archbishop Jerzy Stroba---archbishop metropolitan of Poznan.
5. Archbishop Bronislaw Dabrowski---secretary of the Episcopal Conference.

#### IV. Episcopal Educational Council

Chairman: Bishop Alfons Nossol.

Deputy: Cardinal Franciszek Macharski.

#### V. Episcopal Committees

1. Committee on Catholic education: chairman---Cardinal Franciszek Macharski; deputy---Bishop Alfons Nossol.

Subcommittee on Scripture: chairman---Bishop Kazimierz Romaniuk.

2. Committee on the General Ministry: chairman---Bishop Wladyslaw Miziolek; deputy---Archbishop Henryk Gulbinowicz.

Subcommittee on the Ministry to Women and Men: chairman--Bishop Jozef Gucwa; deputy--Bishop Mieczyslaw Jaworski.

Subcommittee on the Ministry to Working Youth: chairman--Bishop Wladyslaw Bobowski; deputy--Rev Zygmunt Bochenek.

3. Committee on the Liturgy and Liturgical Ministry: chairman--Bishop Tadeusz Rybak; deputy--Bishop Tadeusz Szwagrzyk.

Subcommittee on Church Music: chairman--Bishop Jerzy Dabrowski.

4. Committee on Catechetics: chairman--Archbishop Jerzy Stroba; deputy--Bishop Janusz Zimniak.

5. Marian Committee: chairman--acting Bishop Boleslaw Pylak; deputy--Bishop Zbigniew Kraszewski.

6. Committee on the Clergy: chairman--Bishop Pawel Socha; deputy--Bishop Tadeusz Szwagrzyk.

7. Committee on the Family Ministry: chairman--Bishop Marian Przykucki; deputy--Bishop Stanislaw Stefanek.

8. Committee on the Academic Ministry: chairman--Archbishop Henryk Gulbinowicz; deputy--Bishop Juliusz Paetz.

9. Committee on Seminaries: chairman--Bishop Stanislaw Szymeccki; deputy--Bishop Czeslaw Lewandowski.

10. Committee on Charity: chairman--Bishop Czeslaw Domin; deputy--Bishop Julian Groblicki.

11. Committee on Lay Missions: chairman--Cardinal Franciszek Macharski; deputy--Bishop Henryk Gulbinowicz.

12. Committee on Religious Vocations: chairman--Bishop Edward Materski; deputy--Bishop Stanislaw Smolenski.

13. Committee on the Catholic University of Lublin: chairman--Cardinal Jozef Glemp; deputy--Bishop Boleslaw Pylak.

14. Committee on the Religious: chairman--Archbishop Bronislaw Dabrowski; deputy--Archbishop Henryk Gulbinowicz.

15. Committee on Methods of Public Communication: chairman--Bishop Ignacy Jez; deputy--Rev Alojzy Orszulik.

16. Committee on Sobriety: chairman--Bishop Jan Mazur; deputy Bishop Stefan Moskwa.

17. Committee on Catholic Publications: chairman--Bishop Herbert Bednorz; deputy--Bishop Kazimierz Romaniuk.

18. Committee on Church Art: chairman--Bishop Jan Oblak.
19. "Iustitia et Pax" Committee: chairman--Bishop Stanislaw Szymecki; deputy--Bishop Zdzislaw Fortuniak.
20. Mission Committee: chairman--Bishop Edmund Piszcz; deputy--Bishop Jan Nowak.
21. Committee on Ecumenism: chairman--Bishop Alfons Nossol; deputy--Bishop Wladyslaw Miziolek.
22. Committee on Church Construction: chairman--Bishop Julian Wojtkowski; deputy--Bishop Jan Wieczorek.
23. Committee on the Emigrant Ministry: chairman--Cardinal Jozef Glemp; delegate of the primate of Poland--Bishop Szczepan Wesoly.
24. Committee on the Tourist Ministry: chairman--Bishop Zygmunt Kaminski; deputy--Bishop Wladyslaw Bobowski.
25. Committee on Dialog with Nonbelievers: chairman--Bishop Kazimierz Majdanski; deputy--Bishop Juliusz Paetz.
26. Committee on the Ministry to Workers: chairman--Archbishop Henryk Gulbinowicz; deputy--Cardinal Franciszek Macharski.
27. Committee on the Ministry to Farmers: chairman--Bishop Gurda; deputy--Bishop Jan Michalski.
28. Committee on the Ministry to Seamen.
29. Committee on the Code of Church Law: chairman--Bishop Tadeusz Goclowski.

#### VI. The Joint Committee

Chairman of church representatives--Cardinal Franciszek Macharski; chairman of state representatives--Kazimierz Barcikowski.

A total of 367 people work on the Committee of the Polish Episcopate, including 81 bishops, 211 priests (147 diocesan and 64 monastic), 21 nuns and 54 lay people.

The secretariat of the Polish Episcopate, headed by Archbishop Bronislaw Dabrowski, who is assisted by his deputy Bishop Jerzy Dabrowski and assistant secretary Rev Alojzy Orszulik, should not be confused with the secretariat of the primate of Poland. The latter has its seat in the home of the Warsaw archbishops on Miodowa Street in Warsaw and deals with matters directed by the Polish primate himself. The director of that secretariat is Rev Dr Andrzej Dziuba.

At the same address are the departments and offices of the Warsaw Metropolitan Curia, which is the office of the ordinary of the Warsaw archdiocese. Although the ordinary is the primate of Poland, only matters of the clergy and faithful of the Warsaw archdiocese are handled in the curia. The Warsaw Curia is therefore not, as some believe, an office superior to the curias of other dioceses.

#### Church provinces

In second place in the hierarchical structure of the church in Poland are the church provinces, called metropolises according to the old terminology. There are five of these in Poland, not counting the residual parts that remained after the metropolises of Lwow and Wilno.

Based on area and population, the largest is the Warsaw Metropolis, composed of six suffragans, namely the Lublin diocese, Lodz diocese, Plock diocese, Sandomierz-Radom diocese, Siedlce diocese and Warmia (Olsztyn) diocese.

The second largest is the Gniezno Metropolis with five suffragan dioceses. They are Chelm (Pelplin) diocese, Gdansk diocese, Koszalin-Kolobrzeg diocese, Szczecin-Kamien diocese and Wloclawek diocese.

Smaller in area but large in terms of the number of faithful is the Krakow Metropolis with four suffragans: Czestochowa diocese, Katowice diocese, Kielce diocese and Tarnow diocese.

In fourth place is the Wroclaw Metropolis with the Gorzow diocese and Opole diocese.

The Poznan Metropolis has no suffragan diocese and therefore the boundaries of the Poznan archdiocese are in line with the boundaries of the metropolis.

The two last small provinces---we will call them Bialystok and Lubaczow---do not have their own metropolises because they are merely part of the Wilno and Lwow metropolises and these, since the end of World War II, are in the territory of the Soviet Union. To the first province belong the Lomza diocese and the apostolic administrative districts in Bialystok and Drohiczyn on the Bug, while to the second belong the Przemysl diocese and Lubaczow apostolic administrative district.

#### Dioceses

The basic division of the church in Poland, as in the world, is the division into dioceses, parishes and units similar to them as regards authority. These units are the three apostolic administrative districts (Bialystok, Drohiczyn and Lubaczow) with all the authority of dioceses and a great number of rectorates (quasiparocia) that have the same rights as parishes but for a number of reasons must wait to become parishes. There are 27 Polish archdioceses and dioceses, including the aforementioned administrative districts. In alphabetical order with the names of the ordinary bishop and auxiliary bishop they are:

1. Bialystok--Apostolic administrative district: Bishop Edward Kisiel--apostolic administrator; Bishop Edward Ozorowski--auxiliary bishop.
2. Czestochowa--Diocese: Bishop Stanislaw Nowak--bishop of Czestochowa; auxiliary bishop: Bishop Tadeusz Szwagrzyk, Bishop Franciszek Musiel, Bishop Mirosław Kolodziejczyk.
3. Drohiczyn on the Bug--Apostolic administrative district: Bishop Władysław Jedruszko--apostolic administrator.
4. Gdansk--Diocese: Bishop of Gdansk--vacancy; Bishop Tadeusz Gocłowski--diocesan administrator.
5. Gniezno--Archbishop and metropolis: Cardinal Józef Glemp--archbishop metropolitan of Gniezno and Warsaw, primate of Poland; Bishop Jan Czerniak--auxiliary bishop; Bishop Szczepan Wesoly--delegate to Polonia; Bishop Jan Michalski--auxiliary bishop; Bishop Jan Nowak--auxiliary bishop; Bishop Jerzy Dąbrowski.
6. Gorzów Wielkopolski--Diocese: Bishop Wilhelm Pluta--bishop of Gorzów; Bishop Paweł Socha--auxiliary bishop.
7. Katowice--Diocese: Bishop Herbert Bednorz--bishop of Katowice; auxiliary bishops: Bishop Józef Kurpas, Bishop Czesław Domin, Bishop Janusz Zimniak.
8. Kielce--Diocese: Bishop Stanisław Szymecki--bishop of Kielce; auxiliary bishops: Bishop Jan Gurda, Bishop Mieczysław Jaworski.
9. Koszalin-Kołobrzeg--Diocese: Bishop Ignacy Jez--bishop of Koszalin-Kołobrzeg; auxiliary bishops: Bishop Tadeusz Werno, Bishop Piotr Krupa.
10. Kraków--Archdiocese and metropolis: Cardinal Franciszek Macharski--archbishop metropolitan of Kraków; auxiliary bishops: Bishop Julian Grobicki, Bishop Jan Pietraszko, Bishop Stanisław Smolenski, Bishop Albin Malysiak, Bishop Kazimierz Górny.
11. Lubaczów--Apostolic administrative district: Bishop Marian Joworski--apostolic administrator.
12. Lublin--Diocese: Bishop Bolesław Pylak--bishop of Lublin; auxiliary bishops: Bishop Piotr Hempterek, Bishop Jan Śrutwa.
13. Łomża--Diocese: Bishop Juliusz Paetz--bishop of Łomża; auxiliary bishops: Bishop Tadeusz Zawistowski, Bishop Edward Samsel.
14. Łódź--Diocese: Bishop Józef Rozwadowski--bishop of Łódź; auxiliary bishops: Bishop Jan Kulik, Bishop Bohdan Bejze, Bishop Władysław Ziolek.
15. Olsztyn--Diocese: Bishop Jan Oblak--bishop of Warmia; auxiliary bishops: Bishop Julian Wojtkowski, Bishop Wojciech Ziemia.

16. Opole---Diocese: Bishop Alfons Nossol---bishop of Opole; auxiliary bishops: Bishop Antoni Adamiuk, Bishop Jan Wieczorek.
17. Pelplin---Diocese: Bishop Marian Przykucki---bishop of Chelm; auxiliary bishops---Bishop Zygfryd Kowalski, Bishop Edmund Piszcz.
18. Plock---Diocese: Bishop Bogdan Sikorski---bishop of Plock; Bishop Zygmunt Kaminski---apostolic administrator; Bishop Jan Wosinski---auxiliary bishop.
19. Poznan---Archdiocese and metropolis: Archbishop Jerzy Stroba---archbishop metropolitan of Poznan; auxiliary bishops: Bishop Tadeusz Etter, Bishop Stanislaw Napierala, Bishop Zdzislaw Fortuniak.
20. Przemyśl---Diocese: Bishop Ignacy Tokarczuk---bishop of Przemyśl; auxiliary bishops: Bishop Boleslaw Taborski, Bishop Tadeusz Blaszkiewicz, Bishop Stefan Moskwa.
21. Sandomierz-Radom---Diocese: Bishop Edward Materski---bishop of Sandomierz-Radom; auxiliary bishops: Bishop Walenty Wojcik, Bishop Stanislaw Sygnet.
22. Siedlce---diocese: Bishop Jan Mazur---bishop of Podlesie; Bishop Wacław Skomoruch---auxiliary bishop.
23. Szczecin-Kamień---Diocese: Bishop Kazimierz Majdanski---bishop of Szczecin-Kamień; auxiliary bishops: Bishop Jan Galecki, Bishop Stanislaw Stefanek.
24. Tarnobrzeg---Diocese: Bishop Jerzy Ablewicz---bishop of Tarnobrzeg; Bishop Piotr Bednarczyk---auxiliary bishop; Bishop Jozef Glucwa---auxiliary bishop; Bishop Wladyslaw Bobowski.
25. Warsaw---Archdiocese and metropolis: Cardinal Jozef Glemp---archbishop metropolitan of Gniezno and Warsaw, primate of Poland; auxiliary bishops: Archbishop Bronislaw Dabrowski, Bishop Jerzy Modzelewski, Bishop Wladyslaw Miziolek, Bishop Zbigniew Kraszewski, Bishop Kazimierz Romaniuk.
26. Wloclawek---Diocese: Bishop Jan Zareba---bishop of Wloclawek; auxiliary bishops: Bishop Czeslaw Lewandowski, Bishop Roman Andrzejewski.
27. Wroclaw---Archdiocese and metropolis: Archbishop Henryk Gulbinowicz---archbishop metropolitan of Wroclaw; auxiliary bishops: Bishop Tadeusz Rybak, Bishop Adam Dyczkowski.

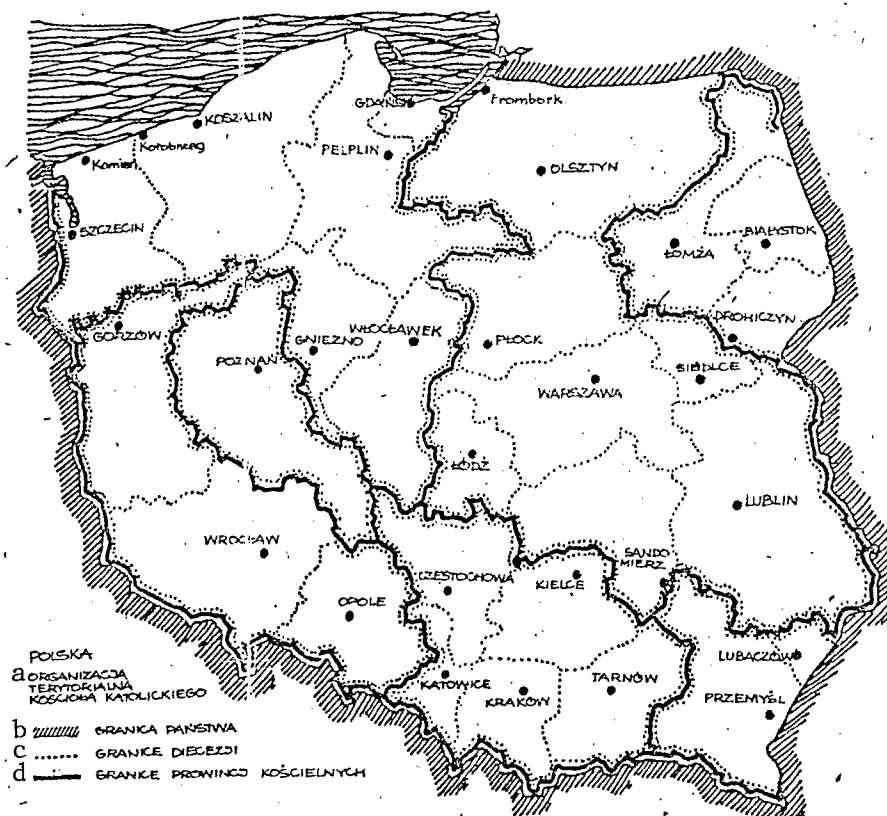
Deaconates, parishes and other pastoral centers

All the aforementioned archdioceses, dioceses and administrative districts are divided into deaconates, or regional vicarates, and these in turn are divided into parishes and rectorates. In 1972 there were 665 deaconates and 6692 parishes. The most recent statistical data of 1 January 1983 indicates that in Poland there were 745 deaconates, 7715 parishes, 218 rectorates and 12,554

places of worship, including parish churches--7580, rectorate churches--217, filial churches--2752, monastic churches--170 and chapels--1835. In the aforementioned pastoral centers there were 19,895 diocesan and monastic priests. There were 15,895 diocesan priests and 4090 monastic priests. Of the total of 19,895 priests there were 7722 pastors (541 monastic), 6342 vicars (1033 monastic), 547 Polonia and missionary priests from among the diocesan clergy and 5374 other priests who work in church administration, teach in seminaries or other schools, are retired or are involved in a specialized ministry (2516 monastic).

Bishops of the Roman Catholic Church in Poland (as of 5 December 1984):

Ablewicz, Jerzy (Tarnow), Adamiuk, Antoni (Opole), Andrzejewski, Roman (Wloclawek), Bednarczyk, Piotr (Tarnow), Bednorz, Herbert (Katowice), Bejze Bohdan (Lodz), Blaszkiewicz, Tadeusz (Przemysl), Bobowski, Wladyslaw (Tarnow), Czerniak, Jan (Gniezno), Dabrowski, Bronislaw (Warsaw), Dabrowski, Jerzy (Gniezno, Warsaw), Domin, Czeslaw (Katowice), Dyczkowski, Adam (Wroclaw), Etter, Tadeusz (Poznan), Fortuniak, Zdzislaw (Poznan), Galecki, Jan (Szczecin-Kamien), Glemp, Jozef (Warsaw, Gniezno), Goclowski, Tadeusz (Gdansk), Gorney, Kazimierz (Krakow), Groblicki, Julian (Krakow), Gucwa, Jozef (Tarnow), Gulbinowicz, Henryk (Wroclaw), Gurda, Jan (Kielce), Hemperek, Piotr (Lublin), Jaworski, Marian (Lubaczow), Jaworski, Mieczyslaw (Kielce), Jez, Ignacy (Koszalin-Kolobrzeg), Jedruszok, Wladyslaw (Drohiczyn), Kaminski, Zygmunt (Plock), Kisiel, Edward (Bialystok), Kolodziejczyk, Miroslaw (Czestochowa), Kowalski, Zygfryd (Pelplin), Kraszewski, Zbigniew (Warsaw), Krupa, Piotr (Koszalin-Kolobrzeg), Kulik, Jan (Lodz), Kurpas, Jozef (Katowice), Lewandowski, Czeslaw (Wloclawek), Marcharski, Franciszek (Krakow), Majdanski, Kazimierz (Szczecin), Malysiak, Albin (Krakow), Materski, Edward (Sandomierz-Radom), Mazur, Jan (Siedlce), Michalski, Jan (Gniezno), Misiolek, Wladyslaw (Warsaw), Modzelewski, Jerzy (Warsaw), Moskwa, Stefan (Przemysl), Musiel, Franciszek (Czestochowa), Napierala, Stanislaw (Poznan), Nossol, Alfons (Opole), Nowak, Jan (Gniezno), Nowak, Stanislaw (Czestochowa), Oblak, Jan (Olsztyn), Ozorowski, Edward (Bialystok), Paetz, Julian (Lomza), Pietraszko, Jan (Krakow), Piszcz, Edmund (Pelplin), Pluta, Wilhelm (Gorzow), Przykucki, Marian (Pelplin), Pylak, Boleslaw (Lublin), Romaniuk, Kazimierz (Warsaw), Rozwadowski, Jozef (Lodz), Rybak, Tadeusz (Wroclaw), Samsel, Edward (Lomza), Sikorski, Bogdan (Plock), Skomorucha, Waclaw (Siedlce), Smolinski, Stanislaw (Krakow), Socha, Pawel (Gorzow), Stefanek, Stanislaw (Szczecin-Kamien), Stroba, Jerzy (Poznan), Sygnet, Stanislaw (Sandomierz-Radom), Schwagrzyk, Tadeusz (Czestochowa), Szymecski, Stanislaw (Kielce), Srutwa, Jan (Lublin), Taborski, Boleslaw (Przemysl), Tokarczuk, Ignacy (Przemysl), Werno, Tadeusz (Koszalin-Kolobrzeg), Wesoly, Szczepan (Gniezno, Rome), Wieczorek, Jan (Opole), Wojtkowski, Julian (Olsztyn), Wosinski, Jan (Plock), Wojcik, Walenty (Sandomierz), Zareba, Jan (Wloclawek), Zawistowski, Tadeusz (Lomza), Ziemia, Wojciech (Olsztyn), Zimniak Janusz (Katowice), Ziolk, Wladyslaw (Lodz).



Key:

- a) Territorial organization of Catholic Church
- b) State borders
- c) Diocesan boundaries
- d) Church province boundaries

12776

CSO: 2600/473



POLAND

PZPR 18TH PLENUM CRITIQUED IN ECONOMIC WEEKLY

Warsaw ZYCLIE GOSPODARCZE in Polish No 1, 6 Jan 85 pp 1, 4

[Commentary by S.C.: "Effective Policy--Good Economics"]

[Text] The relationship between politics and economics has been emphasized more than once in theory and has been making itself known very sharply and very painfully at times in practice. It is no wonder, therefore, that this year's last PZPR Central Committee plenary session was devoted to economic problems. Officially, the topic of deliberations were party tasks in the implementation of the Central Annual Plan [CPR] for 1985, and in point of fact--the point which we have reached in coming out of the crisis pit, the assessment of the distance which we have covered and in this regard, the seeking out of methods and ways of mitigating unfavorable determining factors which would make it possible fully to use the existing chances for growth.

The plan for 1985 has already been approved. This fact was preceded by several months of consultations during which all the plan assumptions were discussed. This undoubtedly made it possible to make improvements in the preliminary draft. In this situation, it would seem that the topic has been exhausted and that the plenum will now restrict itself to translating economic indicators into political language, to stressing their social significance and to defining the role of party organizations in the implementation of concrete tasks. However, the deliberations encompassed a considerably broader expanse of issues and problems. This occurred for several reasons.

The first of these is the unusually strong interweaving of mutual determinants between the social situation in the country and the economic problems. Such interdependencies have always occurred. However, they were never this strong and mutual reactions in both of these spheres never occurred so quickly and so directly. For this reason, the highest party authority between congresses must assess the economic situation and all steps made by the government in this domain very thoroughly. On the other hand, the sensitivity of the economy to social moods and to the acceptance or nonacceptance by work forces of specific solutions in the area of planning or of the economic-financial system is particularly high and may substantially promote or hamper the effectiveness of officially just solutions. At the same time, it is necessary to be aware that the logic of economic actions does not always have to concur with social logic, particularly in a situation where there is a feeling of weariness caused by

difficult living conditions, where the divergence between aspirations and possibilities is particularly great, and where extensive economic growth factors have been exhausted.

This is where we come to the second element which causes the significance of the 18th Plenum to go beyond the simple acceptance of the CPR for 1985. Speaking in the most general terms, this element is the economic reform. After 3 years of ushering it in, a new system of economic functioning has come about. Without taking on a discussion at this point on to what extent and which aspects of the new system are concordant with the directional assumptions adopted at the Ninth Congress, and to what extent and which points require much more work to achieve this concordance, it may be stated without a doubt that the role of enterprises and their work forces in solving key economic problems has grown substantially. For this reason, a lot more than before depends on knowledge, understanding and the desire to act in accordance with the plan assumptions in these elements of the economy. For this reason also, the role of party organizations in spreading this knowledge and understanding and also in inducing and inspiring concordance of work force activity with the CPR is larger than before.

Therefore, the party has the right and obligation to express itself on the subjects of concrete proposals, not only those which directly concern social issues but also those which concern individual financial-economic solutions. As I have already mentioned, even the best solutions in this regard, which we are unable to convince work forces to accept, will not bring about the expected economic results and may bring about unexpected negative social consequences. We cannot forget that reform in its purely economic aspect is an instrument which through an increase in effectiveness should ensure the implementation of goals in incomparably more difficult material conditions than previously. At the same time, however, in its social aspect, the reform constitutes an extremely important element of strengthening social democracy and strengthening the role of the working class in managing the economy and in having control over that which is happening in the economy. And just as it is difficult to obtain increasingly broader and active social support for party policies without a clear improvement in efficiency and in achieving definite results in bettering the material conditions of working people, so without progress in the democratization of management the reform will be a very lame tool in the improvement of efficiency.

Without an improvement in efficiency, it will be impossible to surmount the material determining factors which make it difficult to overcome the most serious developmental barriers which occur and which will continue to occur in the upcoming years. The material barrier occupies one of the primary positions. A lot was said on this subject at the 18th Plenum and only one conclusion was reached--that without reducing the material intensiveness of production, we will not implement next year's tasks nor will we have the chance to accelerate production growth in the coming years. One of the most serious dilemmas of the CPR for 1985 occurs here. The slogan of material conserving management is much too inadequate by itself to achieve nearly two-thirds of industrial production growth.

In the field of economy, it is always necessary to attain "something for something": material conservation requires specific outlays both for technological changes and for structural changes, which are in the long run the basic sources of this conservation. With limited capital outlays this is difficult to achieve, all the more that a considerable part of these outlays continue to be appropriated for the continuation of investments which were not initiated with the thought of such technological and structural changes. This makes it necessary to limit enterprise investments. It is difficult to assess right at this moment the success of economic activity undertaken for the purpose of steering the limited funds, which enterprises will be able to invest in modernizing activity of a material conserving nature, all the more that there exists a competition of "just aims" here.

Many enterprises have problems with achieving full employment. Therefore, perhaps it would be wise to give priority to labor-saving progress. This is also encouraged by the institutionalized restrictions of the growth of the wage fund. This means that the increase of the average wages (and this is an issue which is always at the center of interest of work forces) will be capable of being achieved more and more frequently, above all by means of introducing labor-saving technology.

A second such dilemma is the issue of balance on the domestic market. In consultations on the plan, the variant of maintaining real wages at this year's level and allocating the entire increase of consumer goods deliveries for the improvement of the supply situation was favored. What matters, however, is that this overall agreement as to the principle transfer itself to wage policies in every concrete enterprise--a task which is incomparably more difficult with increasingly more common ingression into plant wage systems.

The issue of market balance is also connected with the issue of social services. A great deal was said on this subject during the deliberations, at which it was concluded that reconciling the principle of protecting economically weaker groups with the improvement of the market situation is a complicated task which will probably require a thorough analysis of the entire current policy in this field so that the limited funds which may be allocated for this purpose will really reach those who need them most.

The considerations outlined above which arise during the analysis of the material from the 18th PZPR Central Committee Plenum obviously do not exhaust either the register of issues discussed there or many important proposals. Many problems have remained open, just as many of them are still waiting for aggressive action and solutions. Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski spoke about this in his concluding remarks by mentioning both those areas of the economy in which progress was noted and those where progress is decidedly inadequate. The quality of production, applying in practice the effects of scientific-research work and housing construction--these are only some of the examples. If in the coming years we will have more significant achievements in this field as well, then we will achieve a better start into the next 5-year period. This will be a better start not only in this field of the economy but also in the area of social life and in politics because, as stated by the PZPR Central Committee first secretary: "There can be no effective policy without good economics."

POLAND

## TRAINING OF YOUNG NAVAL PERSONNEL DISCUSSED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 15-16 Dec 84 p 3

[Article by Lt Jerzy Zalewski: "Ustka: The Way Out to the Sea"]

[Text] A fall day. The youngest class of sailors continues uninterrupted its intensive basic training throughout the numerous garrison drill grounds and training studies of the oldest naval unit, the Franciszek Zubrzycki Training Center for Naval Specialists [TCNS] at Ustka, which this year celebrates its 40th anniversary.

The plebes--both those who had opted for a professional soldier's career and the draftees--assiduously devote hour after hour, day in and day out, to learn the military trade. Thanks to the extensive knowledge of their superior officers commanding squads, platoons, and companies, both the former and the latter get familiar with rules and regulations, with weapon construction and means of combat--with the soldier's ABC's. But before today's plebes start serving on naval vessels and in coastal units, before they turn into true commanders and naval specialists, they have got a lot to learn.

The sea does not like weaklings. It sounds like a cliché, but is undeniably true. The sea, service at sea and for the sea, demands from all those who would like to sail it perseverance and endurance, great physical and mental resistance. The road out to sea leads through drill grounds and training studies. There is no other way. That is how it used to be in the distant past, that is how it is nowadays, and that is still how the way out to sea will begin for all the future naval specialists.

What did the youngest draftees see when last fall they passed the TCNS gates? They saw a unique instruction and education conglomerate, which trains young people in several scores of naval special subjects for service on naval vessels and in coastal navy units. At their disposal were put various training studies, equipped with the latest facilities for practical training; training gear, simulators, audiovisual equipment. Supplemented by a signals range, a center for learning regulations and drill, a motordrome, a firing range, radio, as well as centers for mass destruction defense and for naval survival, maritime lore, a sports stadium, an indoor swimming pool, a complete shooting gallery, a sports hall, and an artillery range.

Accompanied by the deputy commanding officer of the leading company in the basic training NCO school, Sr Navy Lt Cezary Kubelka, we walk to the wide fields of Lendowo where--in foxholes and trenches--hundreds of sailors have acquired, and still acquire, basic military knowledge. Here the "enemy" was attacked, and his attacks were repulsed. Here contaminated grounds and peatbogs were crossed. Here also--according to the rule: the more sweat in exercise, the less blood in combat--human nature was tempered.

Today's Lepowo is not the same one that the older classes of navy servicemen and reservists used to know. Like all over the TCNS, technology has penetrated its broad fields, crisscrossed by foxholes and trenches. Nowadays the local garrison has many exercise grounds equipped for training in all areas of the general military craft. There are many firing ranges, granade tossing ranges, positions to destroy low-flying air targets; there are observation posts and grounds for defense training against mass destruction weapons.

One thing remains unchanged. Today, as before, the youngest sailors acquire here their basic military experience in fighting and defense, they learn to fire and to dig in, here they temper their bodies and build up their physical strength.

At one of the grounds the youngest TCNS plebes have been exercising for several hours now. Their squad commanders are the best graduates of the school, who for a couple of weeks now have displayed on the sleeves of their jackets two or three golden stripes, indicating their NCO ranks. They do literally everything to pass as much knowledge as possible on to their subordinates. A perfect demonstration serves this purpose. NCO's Stanislaw Domalazek, Kazimierz Koscielniak, Jaroslaw Borkowski, Janusz Kas, and Edward Kozub teach the plebes how to release a trigger, how to toss a training grenade, how to install small-aims weapons and automatic guns, how to assume proper firing posture. Bosun Janusz Szumski, distinguished deputy platoon commander who was awarded the bronze "Model Commander" medal, with great elan and expertise shares his experience with the trainees. Promoted to NCO after 2 years of service, he got a job in his skilled profession as a machinist of high-speed vehicles. Although well paid, he has returned to his company, this time as a regular soldier.

"Working with young people is more personally gratifying than high factory wages," he told us. "Here I feel like a soldier, and here, in the naval brotherhood, is my place."

The platoon commander, Naval Ensign Roman Sulima, is happy with today's exercises, held under his supervision.

"Not bad for the first try," the ensign states. "Most plebes completed the firing drill with positive grades."

In the meantime, another squad of plebes approaches the starting line. The squad commander tells the future NCO's about shooting and security regulations, while NCO Bogdan Lipinski demonstrates again how to assume proper firing position, and how to direct fire.

The plebes get their ammunition, and assume firing posture. First shots. One, two, three...

"No rush, you have plenty of time," the squad commander assures the shooters.

A moment of concentration. The next shots are fired. The exercise is over. We approach the target shields together with the plebes who have just finished firing. A pleasant surprise. The target shield of plebe Krzysztof Pluciak has five shots in the '10' range. Only a master sharpshooter can achieve such a concentration of fire. Was he lucky, or did he meticulously worked out his fire? Probably both, since the plebe himself is slightly surprised by the results achieved.

"I have never fired before," he says shyly. "Assuming the shooting position, I faithfully followed all we had been taught earlier by the squad commander."

He is happy that he has been admitted to the basic training NCO school, even though he does not find it easy, especially when it comes to tactics. As a civilian, he had no time even to exercise. Working and studying in an evening technical school, he had no time for jogging, playing ball, or swimming. Therefore, at first he found it hard to adapt to intensive military life. But now it is all right. After all, he was not alone in finding the beginnings of the soldier's path difficult.

He is proud of the fact that he serves in a company which for 2 years has been the best in the TCNS in combat and in political training, and as a reward for military service was awarded the "Distinguished Company" banner. The title "Distinguished" puts an obligation on them, so they do not want to do worse than their predecessors. They make the supreme effort, because they want to keep the title.

Whether they will manage to keep it, the nearest future will show. Now they are undergoing intensive training. And their superiors do everything possible to impart to them as much knowledge as possible; it will be very helpful for the future leaders of men. It does not matter that sometimes it gets difficult. Shedding trickles of sweat, they have grasped the sense of military service to perfection.

This seems to be confirmed by the posture of the leading seamen, plebes Jacek Barszczewski and Dariusz Wojcik, who joined this company after prior personal interview and took psychotests which showed their predisposition for serving as squad commanders. Several of their colleagues, however, were unable to keep with the pace of training. Those who did stay the course will not break down even under the most difficult tactical exercises.

The training cements the soldiers' collectives. Squads and platoons keep competing. This shows the ambition and involvement of the future NCO's. Staying at the top of their squads and platoons, they also strive to achieve the best results on the company level. In the meantime they have a lot of fun, and personal satisfaction derived from well-discharged soldierly duty.

12485

CSO: 2600/421

POLAND

# DECENTRALIZED STRUCTURE, ELITISM OF 'NOT' GROUPS RAPPED

Warsaw TYGODNIK ROBOTNICZY in Polish No 3, 20 Jan 85 p 5

[Article by Stefan Zagiel: "Shoals in the Stream"]

[Text] In factory compounds, where work forces are now looking around for methods of efficient management, to say nothing of ways to survive, it is difficult to underestimate the reserves locked up in people and the organizations they set up. In enterprises, chapters of scientific-technical associations belong to organizations with a considerable creative potential.

Since they are guaranteed to say in nominating directors, these organizations have not been passed over in the legislation. In their capacity as elements unifying the engineer and technical cadres, they have always been a driving force on whose action technological and organizational progress, improvement in the work environment and, in the final count, the magnitude, quality and efficiency of production hinge. This is true not only of industry but also of other economic sectors such as, for example, agriculture and forestry.

The power of these associations is greater still due to their support by an intricate structure crowned by the NOT [Chief Technical Association]. The NOT is noted for numerous initiatives and achievements, spectacular and very significant ones and also small ones, which all contribute to the common cause of the community of engineers in serving the nation.

However, one feels an unsatisfied need if one looks at the scale and scope of NOT activities in comparison to the potential of this organization (after all, it unites the best minds in engineering) and especially so in light of current needs and transformations. The members of scientific-technical associations themselves pointed out the unsatisfied needs and shortcomings at the Lodz meeting on evaluating the implementation of the resolutions of the 20th Congress of Polish Engineers; therefore, the members are aware of them.



## Is Not Unity Better?

We must understand that finding a comprehensive answer will be next to impossible if we inquire about the reasons for this. The researcher will come across bits and pieces--external barriers, objective and subjective reasons. They will not fall into place to give the whole story. However, we may try to discuss certain phenomena which set back the associations of engineers and their federation.

It would suffice to look at the structure of the NOT, resembling those of trade unions before 1980 which later burst like soap bubbles. There are enterprise groups of associations, boards of chapters, main boards, and next to the latter there are provincial councils of the NOT. The Main Council and the Main Board are the highest permanently operating authority of the NOT federation. There is no individual NOT membership, because individual associations belong to it (similarly, there were no members of the WRZZ [Provincial Council of Trade Unions] or CRZZ [Central Council of Trade Unions] in individual trade unions).

Certainly, it would not be correct to tie shortcomings and drawbacks to the organizational structure as such or to maintain that which was not favorable to the trade unions must be equally harmful to any other organization, in this case the NOT. On the contrary, I believe that the associations federated in the NOT would be best served by organizational unity under a single sceptre and without divisions into the SIMP [Association of Polish Mechanical Engineers], SEP [Association of Agricultural Engineers and Technicians], PZITB [Polish Union of Civil Engineers and Technicians], and a dozen others. Unity regardless of the branch, enterprise or unit better serves efficiency and, ultimately, the achievement of social goals.

## The Group Is the Basis

I have come to this conclusion on the basis of observations and analysis. Joint work on solving particular problems, exchange of accumulated experience and information are very important for progress in the economy, especially at the lowest level, i.e., in enterprises. The situation in this regard is not good, especially as far as the exchange of information goes. Suffice it to say that barely about 2 percent of all technological improvement projects are implemented in more than one enterprise. The projects are not implemented because no one is aware of them. However, not only information on inventions is at issue.

The association must be and is a body which facilitates and even enforces such cooperation and exchange. However, let us take an example: there is a group of engineers belonging to the PZITB in a construction enterprise, and on the other side of the fence, at an asbestos tile or prefabricated panels plant, a SITPMB [Association of Engineers and Technicians of the Building Materials Industry] element is in operation. Actually, there is no communication between them, especially if they report to boards of chapters with seats in different provinces.

Let us look at the PZITB and SITPMB statutes. We will not encounter essential differences as to the aims and means of their activity, i.e., exactly the most crucial items. In their turn, tasks in the field of shaping engineers' ethics and awareness, overseeing young cadres and a multitude of others outside the sphere of technology proper are so similar that the associations can learn from each other. Certainly, no one prevents these two (three, four, dozens) groups from cooperating and exchanging know-how, though at the same time no one obligates them to do so. However, given all of the above, what are the different names and affiliations accomplishing?

Many more examples can be given in order to justify asking this question. To mention just one, in repair shops of agricultural equipment enterprises SITR groups are active. In its time, the SITR made a "forceful entry" to the enterprises of the Ministry of Agriculture. Repairing tractors is all these enterprises have to do with the specifics of agriculture. Do the technology and the profile, in this case mechanical equipment, preclude the operation of SITR groups? Absolutely not. However, by the same token, it would not preclude the existence of an SIMP group or for that matter a group of any other association.

The work of organs, central commissions, and task forces contributes to the entirety of NOT activities and achievements, but the work of the smallest elements, enterprise groups, is perhaps crucially important. The latter, however, are not in any way different from one another, except for their affiliation with a particular association. At times this is divisive rather than unifying.

#### From One Pocket to the Other

The provincial council of the NOT, its office and agencies are the bracket holding together the "life" of associations at the provincial level, and at the same time the organizer and animator of their activities. It also manages the House of the Engineer, takes care of common property, such as the library collection, reading rooms, auditoriums and conference hall. Being a service agency for the associations and individual groups, the provincial council makes this common property available to them.

Is it not absurd that the Provincial Technical Club or another association must apply in writing to the provincial council of the NOT in order to rent a hall in the House of the Engineer and after that rental documentation, transfers and other papers go round and round among the bookkeepers (the rental must be paid for)? And that all of this occurs inside one and the same federation, which squanders energy and funds for in-house formalities?

Those who manage money must be aware of its value. Since provincial councils do not have a gold mine but despite this maintain themselves and in addition come up with funding for statutory and organizational activities, they are sometimes forced to turn to other sources of revenue

if the proceeds from class fees, research projects, etc., fall short. What is the easiest way out nowadays? You guessed it, the easiest will be to squeeze out some space in the House of the Engineer, make it into a bar, cafeteria, club, or something of that nature, and rent it to a wise agent. There is no denying that a cafeteria or a club with a glass of cognac are needed in the House of the Engineer. After all, engineers are living people made of flesh, and people can meet each other and discuss their views and experience over a glass of wine. Excellent ideas can be born over coffee.

However, when the concession fee paid by the agent to the council becomes the primary source of its proceeds and the agent also must make some profit, the establishment quickly opens its doors to the general public, because this is the only way to achieve high sales. In this event, engineers and technicians cease being masters and sometimes they even turn into imposters. This situation also occurs when the manager of the House of the Engineer, usually the secretary of the provincial NOT council, wracks his brain over reconciling the contradictions: how to cut down a little on the sale of liquor and beer in the cafeteria and not to lose the "breadwinner" in the process. After all, gossip on how they have been kicking up their heels in the House of Engineer (you heard it right, in the house, rather than in the bar or the cafeteria) is beginning to make rounds in the city. Does this serve to promote the activity of the associations?

Unfortunately, the funds are meager and, worse yet, dispersed. They are depleted in maintaining various bookkeepers, offices and accounts instead of being allocated to basic activities. And what if we toss in the costs of conferences and elections--as many of them as there are provincial chapters of associations...

It should also be recalled that the provincial council has adequate contact only with the associations whose chapters are active in the province. In other cases, the council in its capacity as an organizer is merely a transmitter looking for a response. The council feels its way through a maze of needs not following from current reporting and mandatory contacts.

### Workers Are Forgotten

Had someone as recently as 5 years ago tried to take a critical look at the structure and resulting drawbacks of the trade unions, he would have certainly been considered an enemy of the system or ridiculed. Time has revealed the heart of the matter; I believe that this will also be the case with the NOT groups, though I do not claim that the similarities between the NOT and the former trade unions call for similar changes. After all, I have justified this in my conclusions, or, to be more precise, in loose considerations of a mere handful of problems. I have touched upon these problems for a reason. As recently as several years ago the NOT was moving along its own track, in its own stream. The

NOT tried to regulate the bed of the economic stream, but often little attention was paid to its suggestions. Now we can note the reversal of this situation. All of us expect that the NOT and individual members of associations will increasingly contribute more to the improvement of technology and economic activity without bringing up old grudges and new ill will. Simply put, this is the current need. How will the organization achieve it? There are no hard and fast ways. Once again, we should rely on the intelligence and experience of our engineers and technicians. One thing is clear: they cannot waste their energy trying to paddle their way through the shoals. There are shoals in every stream; they should be either bypassed or eliminated.

I am aware that many considerations of rational nature and tradition favor the existence of individual associations. However, I do not approve of one of these considerations, namely, striving to hold positions in individual associations and unions of engineers and in their chapters. I get the impression that this is becoming a purpose in and of itself, which results in the elitism of technical organizations.

A look at the biographical files of members of provincial NOT councils, boards and chapters suffices--these bodies are teeming with directors, managers and even high-ranking officials of the state administration, for whom the positions are sort of ear-marked. These are volunteer, but positions nonetheless. I do not have anything against directors, but in the same councils and boards workers are nowhere to be found, whereas workers who are certified technicians make up a considerable segment of work forces in enterprises and plants. Not only are they certified technicians; they also have broad vision and interests. Not too many of them belong to the groups, either. Very often nobody reaches out to them. I believe that this is harmful for the associations as well. They lose a lot in becoming the organizations of technical intelligentsia rather than technical cadres.

9761

CSO: 2600/497

POLAND

PZPR POLITBURO MEMBER VIEWS CHERNENKO BOOK

AU041357 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 Jan 85 p 3

[Interview given by Tadeusz Porebski, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, to Anna Pawlowska: "The Polish Edition of Konstantin Chernenko's Book--Praising Effectiveness of Activity"--date and place not given; first two paragraphs are TRYBUNA LUDU introduction]

[Excerpts] As reported, the Polish KSIAZKA I WIEDZA and the Soviet PROGRESS publishing agencies have published the book by CPSU General Secretary Konstantin Chernenko entitled "Problems of the Performance of the Party and State Apparatus." We have published the author's preface: "To the Polish Readers," which states among other things that "the more we know about the problems and thoughts of our peoples, the stronger are our ties and the more fruitful is our cooperation."

We asked T. Porebski to recommend this book to our party activists and to comment on it.

[Pawlowska] The party and state apparatus stimulates criticism rather than reflection. In view of this it is natural that those concerned tend to look for malice in such criticism....

[Porebski] I do not want to repeat the truism that the party is unable to discharge its functions without an apparatus. It is also a truism that the party workers do a difficult and responsible job, which requires increasingly more exacting skill and a very strong character. Comrade Chernenko's book deals with much more extensive subjects than its title suggests. It deals with the nature of the Communist Party, with the methods it uses to discharge its duties toward, the people, and with the management system in the socialist countries. In brief, it deals with the problems the urgency of which in Poland we all acutely feel.

[Pawlowska] K. Chernenko states in his book: "In order to become a genuine party worker and a political leader of the masses it is necessary to gain 'university' and 'academic' education in the day-to-day struggle for bread, steel, and a new man." Of course, this does not amount to a depreciation, of the theoretical training of party workers, because the book says much about

it. I find it most correct to put the sign of equality between the party worker and a political leader of the masses. Under our conditions this is still a task and a goal, but I am sure it is worth seeking after.

[Porebski] As you know, I am a man of technology and as all technologists I like to pragmatically analyze reality. Perhaps this is why what I like most in K. Chernenko's book is the stress it places on efficiency and on the effectiveness of activity. Please note that, speaking of the nature of the party, the author mentions "the skill of organizing activity" next to ideology. I am convinced that this is precisely the Leninist way of looking at the party in general and, above all, at the party as it is in the socialist state.

[Pawlowska] The chapter in the book entitled "Unity of Theory and Practice" is based on the thesis that says that there is an interdependence between specific problems posed by life and requiring solutions, on the one hand, and the fundamental universal principles, on the other. In this connection the book speaks of "the scientific methodology of practical activities."

[Porebski] I subscribe to this methodology without hesitation. As for the interdependence you mention..., we are struggling with it now and are often struggling in a dramatic way in the party and in the state. This interdependence is a most difficult task. You have to take into account the issues that must be solved at once, without losing sight of the global and long-term goals of the system.

[Pawlowska] Allow me to ask you about something else from the book. The author speaks of keeping abreast of time and modernity and making allowances for new phenomena....

[Porebski] Making allowances for what is new in social life, science, technology, and man's ideas is an inseparable feature of the communist attitude. Perhaps this is why a routine approach to things is such a terribly destructive enemy of such an attitude. Comrade Chernenko's book also agitates in favor of new things and appeals for respect for new things.

[Pawlowska] K. Chernenko says: "There are people in our country who 'make some noise' about some pioneering experience and 'vote' for this experience, but they do nothing to propagate it." Is this not familiar to us from somewhere?

[Porebski] It is. However, let us say after the author that we know why this is so. "The primary reason for this state of affairs is poor organizational work and poorly organized control."

[Pawlowska] I would take a very long time to discuss the main aspects of the book. Of great interest are also those parts of it that refer to the past and to those events in the CPSU's history that are little known.

[Porebski] I think that this book will be extensively discussed in our party for the benefit of our work. It is one of those books that stimulate one's thinking and one's approach to the complicated issues of modern times.

CSO: 2600/595

YUGOSLAVIA

ZAGREB DAILY ON POPE AS 'GLOBETROTTER'

AU071209 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 30 Jan 85 p 2

[I.B. Report]

[Text] The pope wearing Indian feather headgear in the place envisaged for the tiara (as shown, left, in the REUTER wire photo taken in Maracaibo, Venezuela, on Sunday) [a 4 and 1/2 by 5 and 1/2 inch picture to the left of the article shows a high angle view of the pope at an airport, donning a wide, feathered headress, with one long feather in the middle] is a picture which could not even be imagined until, say, the Second Vatican Council. After all, until recently one could not imagine a pope globetrotter, who in 6 years of his pontificate has traveled for the 26th time, visited 40 countries, and covered a distance of almost eight and a half times the length of the equator. Times are obviously changing, and appearances are changing with them, but interpretations are still as varied as in Rashomon.

Does this gesture by John Paul II really signify that he obeyed the Council's request that the Church should come closer to the people? Unfortunately, if we are to believe the priests in Latin America who put freedom and human dignity rather above folklore vestments (like the picture above, taken during the talks with Salvadorean guerrillas) [a 3 by 5 and 1/2 inch picture above the article shows an armed man, a woman, and two more men standing and talking in a church] one could say that the pope's deft media gesture with the feather headgear nevertheless does not agree with the denunciation of the theology of liberation and with punishment for the priests who apply it.

Pope Wojtyla, one a playwright himself, has a gift for costume design on the Latin American stage, but has no feeling for the plot.

CSO: 2800/207

YUGOSLAVIA

## ACTIVITIES OF POLISARIO FRONT DELEGATION REPORTED

### Meeting With Grlickov

LD060404 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1315 GMT 5 Feb 85

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Feb (TANJUG)--Dr Aleksandr Grlickov, member of the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium, had talks today with a delegation from the POLISARIO Front headed by Bashir Mustafa Said, member of the Revolution Command Council of the movement.

On behalf of the leadership of the delegation conveyed gratitude to Yugoslavia and the SAWPY for the constant and consistent support and solidarity with the struggle by POLISARIO for the realization of the legitimate national rights of the people of Western Sahara. In this connection, the delegation expressed particular gratitude to Yugoslavia for the diplomatic recognition of the Saharan Democratic Arab Republic. Dr Grlickov was also briefed on the latest developments of the situation in the area and activities by the POLISARIO Front.

Dr Aleksandr Grlickov stressed the support and aid given by our country and the SAWPY to the POLISARIO movement and the Saharan people in the struggle for the realization of their national freedom and independence. He underscored our full support for direct talks between POLISARIO and Morocco and for a solution to the problem of the Western Sahara in accordance with the OAU and United Nations Charter, which is in the interests of both warring sides and which would ensure a lasting and stable peace in the region and further afield. He stressed at the same time that the conflict in the Western Sahara is a problem of decolonialization which can only be resolved through the free self-determination of the Sahara people.

The talks also dealt with further cooperation between the SAWPY and POLISARIO front.

Also taking part in the talks were (Fadel 'Ali Omar), political representative for POLISARIO in Yugoslavia, and Osmar Zubovic, chairman of the committee for aid to liberation movements in the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium.



### Stojanovic Meeting

LD071022 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1940 GMT 6 Feb 85

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Feb (TANJUG)--POLISARIO's leadership today thanked the League of Communists of Yugoslavia for its constant and principled support for and solidarity with the struggle of the people of Western Sahara, and particularly for the diplomatic recognition of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic.

The expression of gratitude were conveyed today to member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidency Nikola Stojanovic by member of the POLISARIO Front Politburo Executive Committee Bashir Mustafa Said, who is heading a POLISARIO delegation on a visit to Yugoslavia at the invitation of the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia.

During the ensuing talk, Stojanovic emphasized the principled stand of the LDY towards liberation movements and Yugoslavia's consistent support for the struggles of peoples and their right to freedom and independence, founded on the basic commitment to the Yugoslav revolution and liberation struggle.

Some current international questions and the further development of bilateral cooperation were also discussed.

CSO: 2800/207

YUGOSLAVIA

TANJUG REVIEWS USSR TRANSLATOR'S BOOK ON YALTA CONFERENCE

LD051306 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1138 GMT 5 Feb 85

[By Slavko Stanic]

[Text] Moscow, 5 Feb (YANJUG)--The "Big Three" did not divide Europe into their "spheres of influence" at the Yalta conference, Soviet historians keep repeating these days on the occasion of the opening of the meeting between Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt at Yalta forty years ago.

The same thesis is set out by Valentin Berezhkov, a historian who was Molotov's permanent translator in World War Two and Stalin's translator at times, in his latest book.

This "firsthand eyewitness" does not deny the story about "the spheres of influence" anyhow, but "moves" it from Yalta to Moscow to a time of four months before the "Big Three" met at Yalta.

Stalin and Churchill talked in the Kremlin at the time and their meeting came as a necessity at the time of swift Soviet offensives near the Third Reich's frontiers. Berezhkov describes their meeting as a "meeting of old acquaintances" and claims that the British premier "bit into the topic" by proposing to Stalin, "What do you think about your having 90 percent of influence in Romania and us having it 90 percent in Greece, and you and us having it 50 percent each in Yugoslavia."

Then the famous piece of paper made its appearance with the above percentages written on it by Churchill and handed to Stalin across the table, and Stalin handed it back to Churchill without comment, Berezhkov claims.

At that time, Stalin would not have any agreements "behind the backs" of the Americans, Berezhkov claims and, quoting from a part of Churchill's correspondence, adduces as the aim of Great Britain's seeking to consolidate its influence in the Balkan countries and other parts of Europe where their national liberation movements, led by the communists, were already ending their struggles against the Nazis.

Another Soviet historian, Ghirenko, wrote two years ago that Moscow was doing in an "internationalist way of everything and protecting the interests of all the Balkan countries."

Come what may but a full analysis of the "Yalta dossier" should be awaited for all that almost everything has become known about activities in the war and after it even without this dossier.

CSO: 2800/207

YUGOSLAVIA

## NATIONALIST 'EXCESSES' IN SPLIT DISCUSSED

### Croat League of Communists

LD071201 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1910 GMT 6 Feb 85

[Text] Sibenik, 6 Feb (TANJUG)--The secretaries of the municipal committees of the Croat LC from the area of Dalmatia discussed hostile excesses in the Dalmatian area and their causes and the program of political action against nationalism, clerico-fascism and other counterrevolutionary actions of individuals and groups at a meeting in Sibenik today. The meeting in Sibenik was attended by Marijan Kalanj and Nikola Lapov, members of the Croat LC Central Committee Presidium, as well as Ivo Karamarko, president of the conference of the community of the municipalities of Split.

It was assessed that the hostile activity was on the increase and that, therefore decisive action of the League of Communists and other socio-political organizations was needed. It was agreed that the critical analysis of the political and security situation should be carried out and concrete programs of the political action established by mid-March. The session pointed out the positive examples set by citizens and young people in Knin and Kardeljevo who opposed hostile excesses in a speedy and direct manner. There are more examples of this kind but there is also slowness in reacting as well as other mistakes.

All the participants in the meeting agreed with the assessment by Marijan Kalanj that nationalist and clerico-nationalist excesses were neither spontaneous nor accidental but organized, persistent and synchronized and that they were the consequence of the indoctrination of a small number of young people, but also of problems present in society. It was stated therefore that the League of Communists and other progressive socialist forces had to commit themselves to eliminate deformations and pay maximum attention to the future of the young.

### Split Council

LD080827 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1645 GMT 7 Feb 85

[Text] Split, 7 Feb (TANJUG)--Discussing a series of nationalistic excesses which recently took place in Dalmatia, the Council for Internal Affairs of the

Split municipal community has stressed that they happened primarily as a result of the total failure of the mechanism of social self-protection which is opening in spurts and not as a preventive measure. And so, now that the excesses have happened, instead of treating their cause, social organs have to fight their consequences.

Discussing the causes behind the excesses, members of the Council for Internal Affairs to the Split municipal community pointed to the poor preventive work of sociopolitical, above all youth, organizations, unsatisfactory attitude toward education, poor cadre policy but also to the misuse of religion for political ends, which implies the misuse of religious instruction and the misuse of a large number of nursery schools and creches run by religious communities.

It was stated at the session that hostile attacks of this kind could not threaten our socialist self-managing society, but that a greater threat came from subjective social forces' passive attitude to the tasks confronting them.

The council also drew attention to the inadequate coverage of the nationalistic excesses by a section information media and to the need for holding managers of certain establishments, particularly the catering establishments where such excesses usually take place, also responsible under self-protection regulations.

In order to improve preventive measures against such excesses, the conclusions, adopted at today's session of the Council for Internal Affairs of Split municipal community, came up with demands for sociopolitical organizations to step up their activity in social self-protection in local communities and for an improvement in the system of reciprocal exchange of information between municipalities and municipal communities.

CSO: 2800/207

YUGOSLAVIA

ACADEMICIAN ON IMPORTANCE OF SCIENCE, EDUCATION

LD062116 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0958 GMT 6 Feb 85

["Session of the SAWPY Federal Conference--Introduction Statement by Branislav Soskic"--TANJUG headline]

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 6 Feb (TANJUG)--Spending on science and education--particularly high school education which, in any case, is a precondition for the development of science--has become a most worthwhile and profitable investment, stressed Academician Professor Dr Branislav Soskic in his introductory talk at the session today at the SAWPY Federal Conference. If structurally well chosen, investment yields multiple results in the area of economic, social and cultural development. Knowledge has become not only a new production factor but a factor which is even more crucial than the available natural resources. The countries which understood soon enough gained considerable advantages over other countries.

Soskic went on to say. We must now allow the exciting developments in world science and in the scientific-technological revolution to pass us by. We must involve ourselves in these developments as actively as possible and in the most organized way possible or we shall lag behind and be increasingly out of step with the developed world, which is bound to have serious and dangerous consequences both domestically and externally. Therefore, to rely on science is a present imperative for our economic and social development.

Academician Soskic went on to note that science in our society has not acquired and appropriate role, and that one of the crucial reasons for this unsatisfactory state of affairs is to be found in our economy which is too fragmented, disintegrated, and encapsulated (at the republican, provincial, and at municipal level. In addition, our economy has for a long time lived outside the impact of economic and market laws, healthy market competition, economic forces, and economic-financial responsibility.

Speaking of the social status and treatment of science and scientific workers, which he assessed as unfavorable and inadequately stimulating, Soskic said:

Despite the adopted social orientations, science in our country is still in fact being treated as social expenditure and not as a paramount and decisive

production forces of our society. This refers not only to verbal treatment, but to systemic solutions which are clipping the wings of science and the normal fulfillment of scientific activity. As a result of undifferentiated treatment science was subject and is still subject now to the impact of assorted restrictions envisaged for the area of general and joint consumption, especially regarding the slower growth of resources in relation to the growth of national income.

During the past 5 years (from 1978 to 1983) the share of overall investments in science in our national income fell from 1.07 to 0.91 percent. In terms of overall investment in science we are lagging 15-30 times behind relative to developed countries, and 4-5 times relative to the investment per scientific worker, with a tendency toward further decline.

Organized forces of our self-management society, and especially the socialist alliance, with their verbal support, stands, and action should strive to ensure that in our society the understanding and awareness of the exceptional importance, possibilities, and irreplaceable role of science should gain the upper hand; the understanding that if socially and materially stimulated, adequately organized, and purposefully guided from the program point of view, science can accelerate beyond all measure technological, economic, and general social development. Science (under these conditions) becomes a strategic integral part, or rather the determining feature, of the overall technological, economic, social, and cultural development of the implementation of the stabilization program and emancipation from excessive technological dependence on foreign countries, while the development plans and programs and the measures to carry them out must proceed from scientific knowledge and must be based on it.

Our science, Soskic went on to say, is characterized by a great dichotomy between the cadre potential on the one hand and material-technical basis on the other hand. By far the majority of scientific cadres in our country are in the universities. However, resources, equipment, and laboratories for scientific research are to be found mainly in independent scientific research institutes and in major research and development units in the economy. The establishment of scientific institutions and the purchase of often expensive equipment are carried out without an extensive and planned perception of the requirements, without adequate coordination, division of labor, specialization, and thematic orientation. This results in programs and equipment being irrationally duplicated and the already limited resources earmarked for sciences necessarily spent.

All this indicates the need to organize science and scientific work considerably more rationally and efficiently. What is required is a division of labor, coordination, the merger and integration of science, of scientific research, scientific-educational (university), and research-development work. The network of scientific organizations must be re-examined, coordinated, and brought within a rational framework.

Soskic went on to say: An exceptionally important complex of problems refers to the strategy, policy, and planning of science and technology and of scientific development. Our science and our society lack an agreed uniform strategy for the long-term development of science and technology as an integral part of the long-term socioeconomic development of Yugoslavia. What we also require is a policy of scientific and technological development within the framework of every republic and province coordinated with this strategy. The development of science and technology, as an increasingly important part of the overall system of social planning, also has to be planned and guided.

A unified strategy, policy, and planning of science and of scientific-technological development in Yugoslavia should, stressed Soskic, proceed mainly from the long-term requirements of the economic and social development of the country as a whole in order to step up overall production, output, competitive ability, and export in our economy, in fact to enable it to become more fully and adequately incorporated in the international division of labor. But it must proceed also from the development tendencies of world science and technology, from the need to reduce our technological dependence, coupled with closer links with the world scientific-technological development, and from the increased defense capability of our country, the preservation of independence, from nonalignment and from our living and working environment.

Prominent scientific workers and appropriate scientific and professional organizations and associations, and competent bodies especially could take part in formulating the strategy and the policy of the scientific and technological development of Yugoslavia and of the republics and provinces. Representatives of the economy and of our social community further afield could be delegated into the competent bodies mentioned above which must be set up. A special role in this respect could be played by the academies of sciences and arts in Yugoslavia and by the Council of the SFRY Academies of Sciences and Arts because they have their world class cadre and their standing coordination inter-academy committees for individual areas of science; especially since within the framework of their committees the academies of sciences and arts, in addition to their members, rally together also a great number indeed of prominent scientific workers, especially those at universities and in scientific research institutes.

Special roles should be given to planning and financing publishing activity in the area of science, stressed Soskic. Scientific and research work, within the framework of scientific projects and scientific meetings, loses its meaning considerably if its results are not available as soon as possible to the broad scientific and professional public. There is no development of science without the publication of scientific work which represents the final stage of scientific research. And since a science book is not a commodity of a commercial nature, far more resources have to be set aside to publish scientific work.

Ther realization of these orientations and stands, Soskic went on to say, imposes the need for an adequate and systematic coordination and social direction of scientific activity; that is to say of the development of science and technology at the republican and provincial level and indeed at the



national level as well. In this sense proposals were first made by the Council of the SFRY Academies of Sciences and Arts, and they received extensive support. These proposals envisage the formation of adequate bodies and organs (unless they already exist) at the republican and provincial level. They do not jeopardize institutionalized solutions pertaining to self-management interest organizations. These proposals should be accompanied by the proposal inherent in the draft resolution (of the SFRY Assembly) concerning the development of scientific-research activity in SFRY and the formation of an appropriate body (a commission) in the SFRY Assembly to monitor the implementation of this resolution.

The number of cadres who devote themselves to scientific-research work is distinctly unsatisfactory, remarked Soskic. In some sciences crucial for the development of the economy it is considerably below average and in some cases at the very bottom of the European ladder; that is to say considerably below the critical line without which one cannot expect technological and economic development to lean fully for support on one's own science and make use of it. In addition, the cadres are unevenly distributed. There are very few of them--impermissibly few--in the economy and in the research-development units in the economy.

Inadequate material and technical facilities for scientific organizations and the inadequate social and material status of science and of scientific workers constitute a special handicap for the training of young scientific workers. Their material status (income, housing problems, and others) is less favorable than the status of their counterparts starting a career in economic and other organizations. This happens despite the fact that what we are talking about is science and young scientific cadres, who because of their exceptional results (in the course of regular and postgraduate studies) and as a result of competitive examinations, have been chosen for the lowest academic posts (associates, assistant lecturers). These conditions are not much better for more senior scientific cadres either. Hence the phenomenon of the so-called "brain drain" from science into other areas of work, from less developed into more developed environments, and from our country to foreign countries. A variety of measures will be required to create the conditions to allow those who have left their environment or their country and have asserted themselves with their scientific work in other developed environments or abroad, to return.

The problem of scientific cadres is assuming alarming proportions. There is an erosion of wquality and the level of achievement. Mediocrity is beginning to seep into the ranks of science with a dangerous tendency of being reproduced on a wider scale. Instead of selecting talents, knowledge and scientific hard work, the danger of negative selection is increasingly present. This is contributed to by some institutionalized solutions which, under the cloak of self-management, blunt the sharp edge of, and even frustrate, application of rigorous scientific criteria for the election and re-election of scientific-teaching and scientific-research cadres. Elections, and especially re-elections are to a great extent being transformed into a formality. They do not ensure a proper value being put on work and on the results

of work, and an unceasing selection of quality and elimination and retraining of the cadres unsuitable for scientific work. Therefore, our social community should opt primarily for a much higher level of resources within our country's social product to be spent on science. The money set aside for science should be exempt from restrictions envisaged for joint expenditure. In addition, these monies should grow faster than what happens in modern industrially developed countries. Social and material support and more uniform organizational solutions are particularly required in the domain of fundamental research, primarily to mitigate our technological dependence on foreign countries.

Serious and deep-seated actions must be taken, said Academician Soskic in conclusion, to ensure that science in our country becomes a significant production forces and a most powerful mover of our technological, economic, social, educational, and cultural development. This problem must be addressed to by all organized and responsible forces of our society and, consequently, primarily by the SAWPY organizations and leaderships, said Academician Professor Dr Branislav Soskic.

CSO: 2800/207

1 March 1985

## YUGOSLAVIA

## SERBIAN LC PRESIDIUUM DISCUSSES PUBLISHING ACTIVITY

AU081000 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 7 Feb 85

[Text] The Marxist Center of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia has been achieving noticeable results in its activities lately. However, most efficaciously in order to join the ideological struggle waged by the LC, this institution will have to more deeply get into the motives for and find out which are the forces that want to impose upon us some alien topics and events and even to call into question some key, basic orientations of our revolution. This was said, among other things, at the session of the Central Committee Presidium of the LC of Serbia which discussed the work of the Marxist Center the last year and its program for this year. Momcilo Boskovic reports:

The ideological position of the LC must be strengthened.

This implies a struggle for the basic values of the self-managing community and opposition to the intentions to completely devalue Marx's thought, which have grown, Zoran Vidojevic, director of the Marxist Center of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia, stated in the introductory speech. Spiro Galovic said that the activity of the Marxist Center was good last year, but that it could be of even better quality. Its weakest side was publishing activity, which has virtually died out because of the shortage of financial resources. This is bad, particularly in the present situation when some publishing organizations publish anti-Marxist literature.

According to Radisa Gacic, there are many people at the Center lately, but there is also one-sidedness in their work; people of the same opinion frequently come together about some topic or issue. One [words indistinct] gradually get rid of traveling experts who have answers on all questions of our social life.

One should establish to what extent the activity of the Marxist centers reaches basic organizations of the LC. More discrimination is necessary in choosing topics and people, Bogdan Trifunovic thinks.

Dusan Ckrebic also touched on publishing activity and said that nationalist and uncritical charge, which is penetrating literature more and more is

present here as well. It is sneaking into books, seeking space, publishers, protagonists, and promotions. Do we have to publish, Ckrebic asked, all kinds of European dissidents who find their own fatherland too small, and thus, consciously or unconsciously, enter bloc confrontation and ideological conflicts. Or, these more and more frequent examples of damaging the role and significance of the Communist Party from the period before and immediately after the war [no verb as published].

Concluding the debate, which lasted several hours, Ivan Stambolic, president of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia, pointed out that the center still has not joined the ideopolitical struggle to the necessary extent, and has not done so exactly during this aggressive, brazen, and vindictive penetration of antisocialist, anticomunist, and anti-Marxist ideas. It is necessary that people who want to fight on the ideological field gather around the Marxist Center. In the period to come, the center should make a greater effort to seek cooperation and forms of joint actions and discussions with provincial Marxist centers, because, according to Ivan Stambolic, there are some current social problems and questions to which one should seek joint answers.

At its session today, the Presidium of the LC Central Committee of Serbia adopted the orientation program of ideopolitical training in the basic LC organizations. It also discussed starting positions for work on the statute of the LC of Serbia.

CSO: 2800/207

YUGOSLAVIA

SUKRIJA SPEAKS AT NEUM MARXIST DISCUSSIONS

LD072033 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0850 GMT 7 Feb 85

[Text] Neum, 7 Feb (TANJUG)--Under conditions of such rapid and dynamic social development as ours, the study of the history of our nations and nationalities is an important but also a very sensitive area of our entire effort. Our history has achieved significant results in interpreting the past, but there are also omissions which could have negative consequences for intra-national relations and give rise to conflicts in the field of the further developing equality, brotherhood, and unity among nations and nationalities, Ali Sukrija, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, said when addressing the participants in the traditional week of Marxist Discussions.

From our historiography it is necessary to eliminate one-sidedness, subjectivity and intolerance, revivals of any bourgeois theories, inaccuracies, and the policy of subordinating historical facts to allegedly national, but in fact momentary, interests and goals. Such shortcomings, Sukrija noted, are having an unfavorable effect on the development of social and historical awareness, especially among the young generation; and yet the struggle for the socialist orientation of the young and for increasing the influence of ideology and the LCY policy is of decisive importance for the continuity of our revolution. The necessary conditions should be created in which the young generation, as well as being fully involved, embraces, nurtures and further develops the historical achievement of the working class and the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia under the leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party, the LCY, and Tito during the armed struggle and the building of our self-managing society.

Speaking of the present complex economic and social situation, Ali Sukrija noted that this year and in coming years we must focus all our attention on a number of key tasks in the stabilization program and economic policy. These were, above all, the struggle for the further growth of industrial and agricultural production and work productivity, and a powerful export orientation. We must also exert maximum efforts to suppress the causes of inflation and its destructive consequences, prevent unjustifiable price increases, and halt the fall in real personal incomes.

If these and other tasks are to be carried out, Sukrija said, there must be a wider and firmer pooling of resources by organizations of associated labor on the unified Yugoslav market, and a resolute effort to overcome the tendencies toward autarky and toward isolating oneself behind the borders of one's own organization of associated labor, municipality, republic, and province. We agreed on these tasks and the direction of our action at the 12th LCY Congress particularly in the long-term program of economic stabilization; but we go on behaving the old way and are slow in overcoming resistance to the realization of these orientations. This is also shown by data according to which 60 percent of resources pooled in associated labor take within municipal borders, 37 percent within republican and provincial borders, and only 3 percent on the territory of the whole country.

This battle will be successful only if it is fought in every cell of our society, in all the organizations of associated labor and their associations, at every workpost, and only if the organized socialist self-managing forces and above all the League of Communists are in the forefront of this battle. In this battle no one may stand on the sidelines. It is vital, Sukrija said, to end all debates which deny the character and importance of the stabilization program, because we have already adopted a clear attitude on this subject. Any turning back to the starting point means preventing the realization of our policy of social development and the carrying out of the tasks set on that basis. Consequently, we have to reply, everywhere, regardless of whom we are replying to. We must also struggle more resolutely against all those who waver when implementing the agreed measures of the stabilization program, against all those who, in the attempt to preserve their acquired positions, are in one way or another avoiding implementing the agreed measures or are implementing them only to the extent which is in keeping with their momentary interests.

Talking about extending the political system, Sukrija pointed out that the League of Communists, the LCY Central Committee, and its Presidium have clear ideopolitical orientations on the conception of its further development and improvement. So far, work on the critical analysis of the political system has shown that there are no reasons for changing the bases and fundamental orientations of the SFRY constitution relating to the position of the socialist republics and autonomous provinces and to the equality of nations and nationalities. A critical analysis ought to point at the segments of the political system which do not implement the constitutional orientations and should show what kind of shortcomings emerge from a subjective factor; that is, which mechanisms should be developed and which changes should be carried out to make the system as a whole more effective and efficient.

The present revolutionary tasks demand from Yugoslav communists a more committed and decisive ideological struggle against the class enemy, against all antisocialist and anti-self-managing forces, and ideological trends on this basis. Making use of our difficult and complex social and economic situation, these forces have recently acted with increasing aggression and openly opposed the policy of the LCY and socialist self-management. From the standpoint of bourgeois or dogmatic and bureaucratic ideological theses

these forces disseminate the conception of either a bourgeois multiparty system or a centralist-etatist system. These forces, having no support from our working class and nations and nationalities, link up with various reactionary circles abroad to put pressure on Yugoslavia. And what such a relation to one's own country means does not need explaining, the president of the Presidium pointed out.

We must fight with particular decisiveness against nationalism every nation and nationality, because nationalism is the center round which all anti-socialist forces gather and which therefore is our most dangerous class enemy. Nationalist and antisocialist forces, abusing the freedom of creativity, try to use history, ethnology, archeology, linguistics, film, press, journalism, and publishing for their reactionary aims. Various myths and fetishes are brought back from the past like vampires, Ali Sukrija said, and some events and persons from national history, cultural heritage, historic contribution of our nations and nationalities and so on are interpreted and assessed in an uncritical manner.

Sometimes, Ali Sukrija noted even a number of communists in these spheres of social life forget a historic moral that all truly great science, literature, art, music, or culture in general exceeds all religious, national, and state frontiers and represents both a national and a Yugoslav value and a component part of world heritage. Therefore, in the same way as one fights for unity of production relations or market unity, the LCY must also fight for the unified socialist, democratic, and humanistic presuppositions of ideological and intellectual life in Yugoslavia; that is against any isolationism.

Continuing his speech, Ali Sukrija, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, talked about the international situation and judged it serious and complex. Particularly worrying, he said, is the lack of real readiness among developed countries to help tackle the problem of developing and creating the new international economic order. The Nonaligned Movement, as an independent and non-bloc factor, has for decades played an irreplaceable role in the struggle for world peace and cooperation on an equal footing among states and peoples. Its tasks in this field are perhaps greater today than ever before.

Talking about Yugoslavia's foreign policy, Ali Sukrija pointed out that in the forthcoming period our country will continue to develop broad international cooperation on the principles of independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, equality, noninterference, and other original principles of the policy of nonalignment.

The policy of developing good neighborly relations represents our permanent orientation. The LCY will continue to encourage the policy of openness and comprehensive and mutually beneficial cooperation with all neighboring countries, based on the above-mentioned principles. We consider, Ali Sukrija said, that this is the only possible way to create the climate of trust, mutual understanding, and respect. At the same time, the LCY will continue to oppose any interference in the internal affairs of our country in the most energetic manner.

At the end of his speech the president of the Presidium talked about the preparations for the 13th CLY Congress, pointing out that the results of the party discussion on the draft conclusions of the 13th plenary session of the LCY Central Committee will represent the main basis for preparations for the congress, the platform, and congress documents. In doing all this we proceed from the continuity of our socialist revolution, the essence and aims of the LCY program and the SFRY constitution. It is essential that the congress documents should be good, but it is even more important that one approach should approach open social problems immediately and in a creative, active, and aggressive way and give clear answers to the current social and economic problems. The working class and working people bear the biggest burden of stabilization and therefore they justly demand from all social factors, particularly from the League of Communists and its leaderships, that they assume the most responsible attitude toward implementing set tasks, Ali Sukrija, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, said among other things.

CSO: 2800/207



YUGOSLAVIA

BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA LC DISCUSSES NINTH CONGRESS

LD080044 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1257 GMT 7 Feb 85

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, 7 Feb (TANJUG)--The ninth congress of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC should be a congress of consolidation of action unity on the basis of the already approved program guidelines. Any changes or turnabouts are needed and could be done only in our realignment. This congress should help us to establish our identity and individuality, thus securing an important position for itself among Bosnia-Hercegovina LC congresses. This was said by Mato Andric, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee, in his closing speech at today's session of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee.

This party forum adopted the proposed resolution and basic elements for the preparation of the ninth congress of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC which will provisionally be held in April-May next year. There will be no special political platform for its preparations. All preparations will be based on the joint platform to be prepared by the preparation committee for the 13th LCY Congress. According to the proposed resolution, adopted today, the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee will be responsible for preparations for the ninth congress.

According to Matic, the entire collective, theoretical-political and scientific efforts during the preparations and at the congress itself should use the battle for self-management, strengthening the working class power and more efficiently carrying out the tasks of the long-term program of economic stabilizations as main points of discussion.

In his introductory report Zivko Grubor, secretary of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee Presidium, stressed that the comprehensive and critical analysis of the results achieved so far should be continued during the preparations for the congress.

In Grubor's view, during the preparations for the ninth congress of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC and the 13th Congress of the LCY, accounts must be settled in a more resolute and distinct way with all antisocialist tendencies and their proponents who are attempting to, and partially succeeding in, penetrating the LC itself. His judgment is that the LCY is being exposed to

certain pressures by antisocialist and anti-self-managing forces which are trying to prove, in various ways, that we are "in a hopeless crisis." Both internal and external enemies have increased their attacks while nationalism and the unbridled advocates of the past are raising their heads. Clerico-nationalism is also on the offensive.

Those acting from antisocialist and anti-self-managing positions are particularly keen to exert their influence among the intelligentsia by preaching intellectual elitism and representing the so-called "intellectual nuclei" as the only force capable of carrying out social changes.

The secretary of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee Presidium also spoke about the strengthening of etatism at all levels--in municipalities, the republic, in the federation. This is happening as a result of the insufficiently developed socialist self-managing relations.

At its session today the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee also discussed some topical issues of the LC's activity in implementing the constitutional role of the Socialist Alliance.

It was agreed that in their ideopolitical activity so far, LC organizations and organs have made great efforts to create conditions for working people and citizens, self-managing organizations and communities to realize their interest and needs through the Socialist Alliance as the broadest basis for their sociopolitical activity.

CSO: 2800/207

YUGOSLAVIA

SUKRIJA ADDRESSES BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA LC PRESIDIUM

LD082307 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1442 GMT 8 Feb 85

[Text] Sarajevo, 8 Feb (TANJUG)--Ali Sukrija, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium attended today the session of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee Presidium, which discussed the current ideopolitical activity of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC. Mato Andric, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee, and member of the Presidium drew attention to the main aspects of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC ideopolitical activity and the efforts made at developing the republic socially and economically and particularly at implementing the economic stabilization policy.

Taking part in the discussion, the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium stressed that the LCY is faced with the responsible task of using the preparations for the coming LC congresses and conferences in the republics and the provinces and for the 13th LCY Congress as a starting point for decisive action aimed at resolving the most pressing problems confronting us and enabling us to go to the congresses with as good results as possible. In this context Ali Sukrija particularly stressed the obligations and responsibilities devolving upon LC organizations and organs and concerning the further course of the development and consolidation of socialist self-managing relations based on the constitution and the law on associated labor. He also stressed the importance of a decisive struggle against statist and technobureaucratic behavior.

The session also stressed the need for strengthening and intensifying the process of the pooling together of labor and means on the entire Yugoslav territory. In this, according to Ali Sukrija, the LC has an indispensable role to play, all the more so since this is not only an issue concerning more stable income-based linking between organizations of associated labor and, on that basis, the struggle for the implementation of the long-term program of economic stabilization, but it is also a major ideological and political issue of vital importance for the consolidation of Yugoslavia's unity.

Speaking about the strengthening of the LCY's ideological and action unity, the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium stressed that in the period up to the 13th LCY Congress we must do our utmost to verify in practice our basic principles and demands for greater unity.

During the ideopolitical activity following the 13th LCY Central Committee session full confidence in the LC, its strength and ability was expressed. This should encourage all the social factors to set themselves realistic tasks and to ensure their consistent fulfillment through organized action.

Speaking about some specific tasks to be dealt with before the 13th LCY Congress, Ali Sukrija particularly stressed the need for a more rapid solution to the problems of employment, for the struggle against price rises and inflation and against any kind of behavior which is not in line with self-management, against social stratification and particularly against unlawful acquisition of wealth.

CSO: 2800/207

YUGOSLAVIA

# SUKRIJA STRESSES NEED FOR SCIENTIFIC DEVELOPMENT

LD111854 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1441 GMT 11 Feb 85

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 11 Feb (TANJUG)--Ali Sukrija, president of the Presidium of the LC Central Committee, today received a delegation of the organizers of the 16th red banner meeting of self-managers in Kragujevac. The delegation briefed Ali Sukrija on the course of the preparations and on the content of work of the forthcoming meeting of self-managers and invited him to attend this meeting.

Ali Sukrija thanked them for the information and for the invitation, stressing the great social significance of the subject matter due to be discussed at the meeting of self-managers. He stressed that the development of science and technology and the contribution which science and technology and work effort in general can make are one of the main factors of the successful implementation of the long-term program of economic stabilization, of the solution of the present difficulties, and of the fulfillment of the conditions for a more dynamic and stable social development of Yugoslavia.

The reliance on our own creative forces, especially in scientific and technological creative work, was referred to during the general party discussion in connection with the draft conclusions of the 13th session of the LCY Central Committee. In this context, stressed Ali Sukrija, a big task devolves on all subjective forces in our society, especially of the LC, to become even more involved in the establishment of conditions for the faster development of scientific and research activities and technical and technological solutions, which are significant social production forces that must be expressed even more strongly through associated labor, in promoting and developing present-day production and technological processes and methods, in raising productivity of labor, and in the efficiency of the way the economy is run. The development of science, technology, and creative work, stressed Ali Sukrija, is an irreplaceable factor of the over-all material and social progress of our socialist self-management community.

CSO: 2800/207

YUGOSLAVIA

DOLANC RECEIVES PUBLIC PROSECUTOR'S DEPARTMENT DELEGATION

LD121505 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1332 GMT 12 Feb 85

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Feb (TANJUG)--In the Palace of the Federation today Stane Dolanc, member of the SFRY presidency, received a delegation of the public prosecutor's department led by Milos Bakic, federal public prosecutor. Milos Bakic briefed Stane Dolanc on the results of the work of the public prosecutor's departments which are observing this year the 40th anniversary of their foundation.

Congratulating the representatives of the public prosecutors' departments from all the socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces on this anniversary, Stane Dolanc recalled that from the very start and during all the stages of its development our revolution has striven to uphold legality in the building of socialist democratic relations in our society. Dolanc stressed especially that during our development the prosecutor's office has always been and remains one of the most important factors of defense of all the values of our revolution and of the basis of the functioning of the political system of socialist self-management.

In this respect it is exceptionally important today in all the parts of the country to conduct a unified struggle for legality despite all the difficulties and pressures, Dolanc said. In the future, too, Yugoslavia will develop as a socialist self-management democratic and humane society striving to satisfy the vital interests of our working people and citizens, consolidation of the equality of all our nations and nationalities and continuation of the continuity of the Yugoslav socialist revolution.

CSO: 2800/207

1 March 1985

## YUGOSLAVIA

## BRIEFS

CROAT LC ON PREVENTING NATIONALISM--Mika Spiljak, president of the Croat LC Central Committee Presidium, Mladen Zuvela, member of the Presidium, and Sime Pilic, executive secretary of the Central Committee, had talks with directors and chief and executive editors of public information media from all Croatia in Zagreb today. They discussed the responsibility of the League of Communists and the information media for preventing nationalism and clerico-nationalism and all other forms of hostile activity. At the working meeting, which was held at the Croat LC Central Committee, there were also discussions about marking the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the country and victory over fascism, commemoration of the life and work of Josip Broz Tito, celebration of Youth Day and other important anniversaries from our historical and cultural past. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 8 Feb 85 LD]

DIZDAREVIC IN VOJVODINA--Novi Sad, 8 Feb (TANJUG)--Raif Dizdarevic, federal secretary for foreign affairs, paid a short working visit to the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina. On that occasion Nandor Major, president of the Vojvodina Presidency, held a meeting and talks with Raif Dizdarevic. In the talks, which were also attended by Predrag Vladislavljevic, member of the Vojvodina Presidency; Tibo Salma, vice president of Vojvodina Executive Council; Zivan Berisavljevic, president of the provincial Social Council for Foreign Relations; and Svetoazar Rakic, president of the provincial Committee for International Cooperation, an exhaustive exchange of views was made on the current foreign political situation and on SFRY activities on the international scene as well as on Vojvodina's participation in implementing our country's unified foreign policy. Particular attention was paid to issues of the cadre training of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs and to mutual cooperation between this federal secretariat and the provincial organs in implementing the cadre policy at the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs and diplomatic and consular missions of the SFRY abroad. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1406 GMT 8 Feb 85 LD]

FOREIGN AFFAIRS APPOINTMENTS--Belgrade, 1 Feb (TANJUG)--The Federal Executive Council has appointed Nenad Radovanovic and Marko Kosin undersecretaries at the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, and Jovan Pecenovc, assistant federal secretary. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1033 GMT 1 Feb 85 LD]

VIDIC RECEIVES DPRK ENVOY--Belgrade, 29 Jan (TANJUG)--Dobrivoje Vidic, a member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, today received Yi In-kyu, DPRK ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the SFRY. During their meeting Dobrivoje Vidic and Ambassador Yi In-kyu discussed the activity of the Korean Workers' Party [KWP] and LCY in the solution of current socio-economic tasks, and especially the decisions of the 10th plenum of the KWP Central Committee and the discussion within the LCY on the draft conclusions of the 13th session of the LCY Central Committee and the preparations for the 13th LCY Congress. They also spoke of further promotion of SFRY-DPRK bilateral relations and developing cooperation between the LCY and the KWP this year. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1147 GMT 29 Jan 85 LD]

NEW ENVOY TO BURKINA FASO--Ouagadougou, 9 Feb (TANJUG)--Dusan Grubor, the SFRY's new ambassador to Burkina Faso, today handed his credentials to Captain Thomas Sankara, chairman of the National Council of the Revolution and president of Burkina Faso. The handing over of the credentials took place--according to Burkina Faso's new protocol--in the village of Zinara, some 30 kms from the capital Ouagadougou. In the talks held in a very cordial and friendly atmosphere, they dealt with the further development of friendly relations and promotion of close cooperation between Yugoslavia and Burkina Faso. They referred in particular to the promotion of bilateral cooperation. Views were also exchanged on international issues and promotion of cooperation between Yugoslavia and Burkina Faso on the world scene and in the Nonaligned Movement. President Sankara spoke with particular pleasure of his visit last year to Yugoslavia, stressing the significance of the results achieved and the wish that the mutually useful cooperation in the construction of priority projects of Burkina Faso's economic development should continue to expand. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1246 GMT 9 Feb 85 LD]

TV DIRECTOR STEPS DOWN--Belgrade, 29 Jan (TANJUG)--At its session today the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Serbia relieved Ljubomir Zecevic, director of Belgrade Television, of his duties at his request because of his desire to retire. The Workers' Council of Belgrade Television today appointed Dusan Mitevic, deputy director-general of Belgrade Radio and Television, as acting director of Belgrade Television. The workers council paid tribute to Ljubomir Zecevic, the outgoing director, who had held the office for over 12 years, for his self-denying and successful work. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1539 GMT 29 Jan 85 LD]

CSO: 2800/207

END